



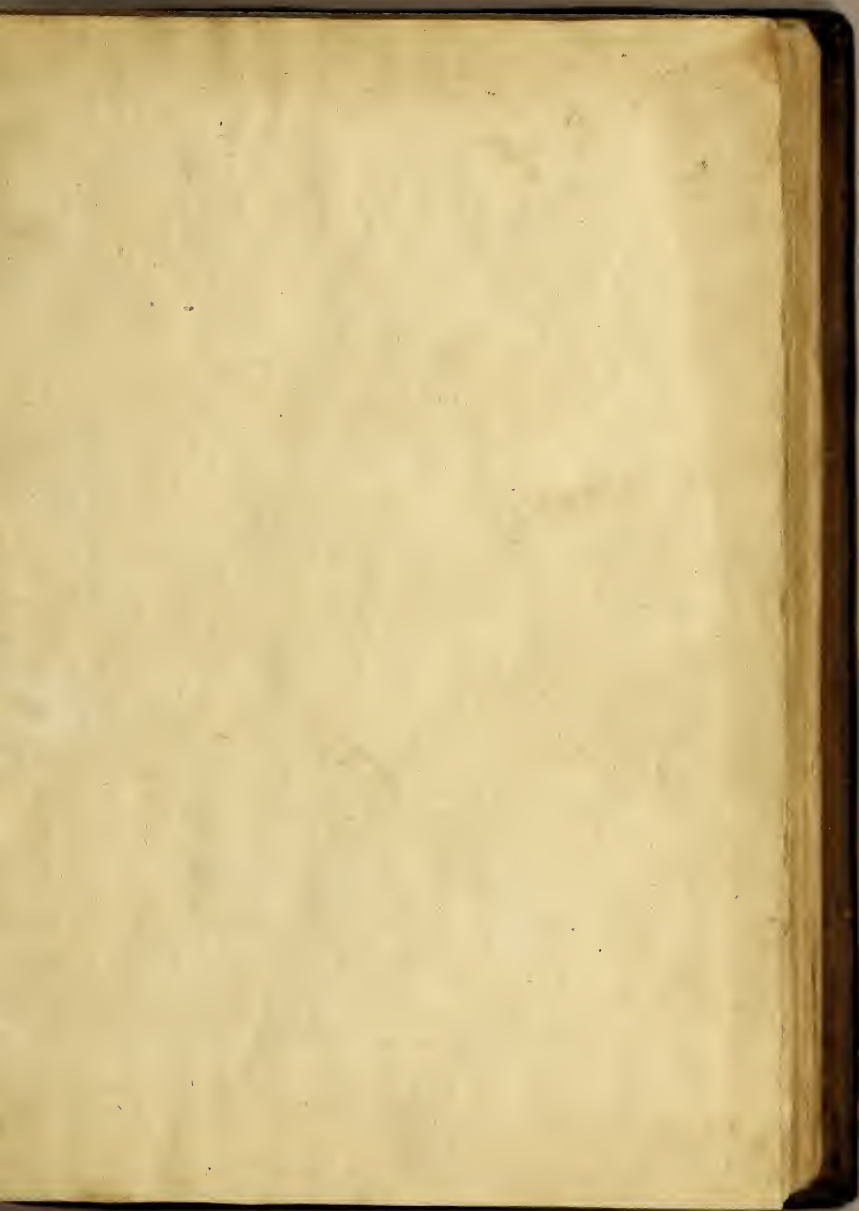
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THE
NATVRALL
and Morall Historie of the
East and West
Indies.

Intreating of the remarkeable things of Heaven, of the Elements, Mettalls, Plants and Beasts which are proper to that Country : Together with the Manners, Ceremonies, Lawes, Governements, and Warres of the Indians.

*Written in Spanish by Ioseph Acofta, and translated
into English by E. G.*



LONDON
Printed by *Val: Sims* for *Edward Blount and Williams*
Aspley. 1604.

THE

NATURAL

and Moral History of the

East and West

Indies

Investigation of the natural history of the East and West Indies, from the earliest times to the present, in a series of letters to a friend, by J. G. Smith, Esq. of the Middle Temple, London. In two volumes. The first volume contains the natural history, and the second the moral history, of the East and West Indies.

London, Printed by J. G. Smith, Esq. of the Middle Temple, London. 1784.



LONDON

Printed by J. G. Smith, Esq. of the Middle Temple, London.

1784

To the right Honorable Sir Robert
Cicill Knight, Baron of Elsingden,
Vicount Cranborne, principall Secretary to his
Majestie, master of the Court of Wardes and Liveries,
and one of his Highnesse most honourable
Privie Counsell.



Right Honorable, If it ap-
peare presumption in me
to shew my love, my du-
tie betraies me to it. The
advantage I have gleaned
from idle houres, in ex-
changing this Indian Hi-
story from Spanish to En-
glish, is commended to
your Honors Patronage,
whose first father *Ioseph*

Acosta, hath with great observation made worthie
the over-looking. A greater motive then that you are
your selfe, needed not to excite me to this dedication.
I beseech you my good Lord, take it into shelter, and
receive that which is not, for that which I would it
were. Let my insufficiencie be measured by my good
will. So shall my poore abilities thrive vnder your in-
couragement, and happily leade me on to some stron-
ger yndertaking; wherein I shall bee bound to thanke
you for mine owne paines, and for ever remaine

Your Lordships most devoted



The Authors advertisement to the Reader.



ANY have written sundry bookes and discourses of the New World at the West Indies, whercin they describe new and strange things discovered in those partes, with the actes and adventures of the Spaniards, which have conquered and peopled those Countries. But hitherto I have not seene any other Author which treates of the causes and reasons of these novelties and wonders of nature, or that hath made any search thereof. Neither have I read any booke which maketh mention of the histories of the antient Indians, and naturall inhabitants of the New World. In truth these two things are difficult; The first being the works of Nature, contrarie to the antient and received Philosophy, as to shew that the region which they call the burning Zone, is very moist, and in many places very temperate, and that it raines there, whenas the Sunne is neerest, with such like things. For such as have written of the West Indies, have not made profession of so deepe Philosophie; yea, the greatest part of those Writers have had no knowledge thereof. The second thing it treats of, is, of the proper historie of the Indians, the which required much conference and travaile among

To the Reader.

mong the Indians themselves: the which most of them that have treated of the Indies could not doe, either not understanding the language, or not curious in the search of their Antiquities: so as they have bene contented to handle those things which have bene most common and superficiall. Desiring therefore to have some more particular knowledge thereof, I have bene carefull to learne from men of greatest experience and best seene in these matters, and to gather from their discourses and relations, what I have thought fit to give knowledge of the deedes and custome of these people. And for that which concernes the nature of those Countries, and their properties, I have learned it by the experience of many friends, and by my dilligence to search, discover, and conferre with men of iudgement and knowledge. In my opinion there are many advertisements, which may serve and benefit better wits for the searching out of the truth, or to proceede farther, in finding that pleasing which is contained heerein. So as although this new World be not new, but old, in respect of the much which hath bene written thereof; yet this historie may in some sort be held for new; for it is partly historicall, and partly philosophicall, as well for that they are the workes of nature, as of free-will, which are the deedes and customes of men, the which hath caused mee to name it the *Naturall and Morall Historie of the Indies*. Containing these two things: In the first two bookes mention is made of that which concernes the heavens temperature, and habitation of the world, which books I had first written in Latine, & now I have translated them into Spanish, using more the liberty of an author, then the strict bonds of a translator, to apply my self the better to those for whom it is written in the vulgar tong. In the two following books, is treated of that which concernes the Elements and naturall mixtures, as Mettalls, Plants, Beasts, and what else is remarkable at the Indies. The
rest

To the Reader.

rest of the bookes relate what I could certainly discover, and what I thought worthe memory of the Indians themselves, their Ceremonies, Customs, Governments, Wars, & Adventures. In the same Historie shall be spoken (as I could learne and comprehend,) of the figures of the antient Indians, seeing they had no writing nor characters as we have, which is no small industry to have preserved their Antiquities, without the use of letters. To conclude, the scope of this worke is, that having knowledge of the workes of nature, which the wise Author of all nature made, we may praise and glorifie the high God, who is wonderfull in all things and all places. And having knowledge of the Indians customes, we may helpe them more easily to follow and persevere in the high vocation of the Gospel, to the knowledge whereof, the Lord would draw this blinde nation in these latter daies. Besides al these things, every one may sucke out some profit for himselfe; for that the wise do alwaies draw forth some good out of the smallest subject, as we finde deepe Philosophie in the least and basest creatures. I must onely advertise the Reader; that the two first bookes of this historie or discourse, were written in Peru, and the other five, since in Europe, dutie binding me to returne into these partes: so as some speake of matters of the Indies, as of things present, and others, as being absent. And therefore I have thought it good to advertise the Reader heereof, that this diversitie of speech may not be troublesome unto him.

Farewell.



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The end of the Table.





Errata.

111.22. for, <i>Paraguay</i>	} trade	<i>Paraguay.</i>
120.30. for, River		Region.
135.32. for, to		in
141.28. for, the motion		without any motion
148.33. for, inhabited		not inhabited
164.27. for, greene		great
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235.11. for, it		and
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368.2. for, possession	in many	
397.14. for, to the communion	profession	
	to the people in manner of a com-	
	munion	
514.21. for, partiaill	particular	
324.32. for, convenient in a maner	in a convenient manner.	
335.3. for, of	to	
347.25. for, neither	in their	

Gentle Reader, from the folio 225. line 14, 16, 19, 20. where you finde
pecces reade peccoes till you come to folio 322. line 22.



1894



THE
FIRST BOOKE
OF THE MANNERS AND MISTERS

OF THE
CITY OF LONDON
IN THE
REIGN OF
HIS MAJESTY
KING
JAMES THE FIRST
BY
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THE
FIRST BOOKE
of the Naturall and Morall
Historie of the East and
West Indies.

*Of the opinions of some Authors, which supposed that
the Heavens did not extend to the new-found world.*

The first Chapter.

THE Ancients were so farre from
conceypt, that this new-found
world was peopled by any Na-
tion, that many of them could
not imagine there was any land
on that part: and (which is more
worthie of admiration) some
have flatly denyed, that the Heavens (which we now
beholde) could extend thither. For although the
greatest part, (yea, the most famous among the Phi-
losophers) have well knowne that the Heaven was
round (as in effect it is) and by that meanes did com-
passe and comprehend within it self the whole earth:
yet many, (yea, of the holy doctors of greatest au-
thoritie)

B

2 The Naturall and Morall

thoritie) have disagreed in opinion vpon this point: supposing the frame of this vniversal world to bee fashioned like vnto a house: whereas the rooffe that covers it, inuirones onely the vpper part, and not the rest: inferring by their reasons, that the earth should else hang in the midst of the ayre, the which seemed vnto them voyd of sense. For as we see in every building, the ground-werke and foundation on the one side, and the cover opposite vnto it: even so in this great building of the world, the Heaven should remaine above on the one part, and the earth vnder it. The glorious *Chrysostome*, (a man better scene in the studie of holy Scriptures, then in the knowledge of Philosophie) seemes to be of this opinion, when in his Commentaries vpon the Epistle to the Hebrewes, he doth laugh at those, which hold the heavens to be round. And it seemes, the holy Scripture doth inferre as much; terming the Heavens a Tabernacle or Frame built by the hand of God. And hee passeth farther vpon this point, saying, that which mooves and goes, is not the Heaven, but the Sunne, Moone and Starres which moove in the heaven, even as Sparrowes and other birds moove in the ayre: contrary to that, which the Philosophers hold, that they turne with the Heaven it selfe, as the armes of a wheele doe with the wheele. *Theodoret* a very grave Authour, followes *Chrysostome* in this opinion, and *Theophilus* likewise; as hee is accustomed almost in all things. But *Lactantius Firmian*, above all the rest, holding the same opinion, doth mocke the Peripatetickes and Academicke, which give the heaven a round forme, placing the earth in the midst thereof: for that it seemeth ridiculous vnto him, that the earth

Chrysost. homil.
14 & 17. in e-
pist and Hebre.

Chrysostom. 6. 13
in Genes &
hom. 12. ad pop.
Antioch.

Theodoret.

Theophil. in ca-
pitul. 8. ad He-
bre.
Euseb. lib. 3. di-
vin. ins. ca. 24.

Historie of the Indies. lib. 1. 3

earth should hang in the ayre, as is before sayde. By which his opinion, hee is conformable vnto *Epicurus*, who holdeth, that on the other part of the earth, there is nothing but a *Chaos* and infinite gulph. And it seemeth that *S. Ierome* draweth neere to this opinion, writing vpon the Epistle to the *Ephesians* in these wordes. *The naturall Philosopher by his contemplation pierceth to the height of heaven, and on the other part he findeth a great vast in the depth and bowels of the earth.* Some likewise say that *Procopius* affirms (the which I have not seene) vpon the booke of *Genesis*, that the opinion of *Aristotle*, touching the forme and circular motion of the Heaven, is contrarie and repugnant to the holy Scriptures. But whatsoever the Ancients say or holde touching this point, it must not trouble vs, for that it is well knowne and verified, that they have not beene so studious in the knowledge and demonstrations of Philosophie, beeing busied in other studies of farre greater importance. But that which is more to be admired, is, that *S. Augustine* himselte, so well seene in all naturall Sciences, yea, very learned in Astrologie and Physicke, remaynes yet still in doubt, not able to resolve, whether the Heaven did compasse in the earth on all parts. *What care I (saith he) if we suppose the Heaven doth inviron the earth on all parts like vnto a bowle, beeing in the midst of the world, as a bottome is compassed with threed: or that we say it is not so, and that the Heaven covereth the earth of one part onely, as a great Basin that hangs over it.* In the same place he seemeth to shew, (nay, hee speaketh plainly) that there is no certaine demonstration, to proove the figure of the world to be round, but onely by simple coniectures. In which places cited and others; they hold the circular motion of the Heaven very doubt-

*Ier. in ep. fl. ad
Ephes. lib. 2. c. 4.*

*Sextus S. iust.
lib. 5. biblio. an-
notat. 3.*

*Aug. lib. 2. de
Gen. ad lit. c. 9.*

Id. Psal. 35.

full. But wee ought not to take it offensively, nor esteeme lesse of the Doctors of the holy Church, if in some points of Philosophie and naturall knowledge, they have varied in opinion from that which is helde for good philosophie; seeing all their studie hath been to know, preach and serve the Creator of all things, wherein they have bin excellent, and having well imployed their studies in causes of greater waight, it is a small matter in them, not to have knowen all particularities concerning the creatures. But those vaine Philosophers of our age, are much more to bee blamed, who having attayned to the knowledge of the being and order of the creatures, and of the course and motion of the Heavens, have not yet learned (wretched as they are) to knowe the Creator of all things, but busying themselves wholly in his workes, have not yet mounted by their imaginations to the knowledge of the Sovereigne Author thereof, as the holy Scripture teacheth vs: or if they have knowne him, they have not served and glorified him, as they ought, blinded with their imaginations, whereof the Apostle doth accuse and blame them.

Sapient. 13.

Rom. 1.

That the Heaven is round on all parts, mooving in his course of it selfe. CHAP. 2.

BVt comming to our subiect: there is no doubt, but the opinion which *Aristotle* and the other Peripateticks held with the Stoicks, (that the figure of Heaven was round, and did moove circularly in his course)

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course) is so perfectly true; as we which doe now live in *Peru*, see it visibly. When experience should be of more force, then all Philosophicall demonstrations, being sufficient to proove that the Heaven is round, and comprehends and containes the earth within it of all parts. And to cleere any doubt that might grow, it sufficeth that I have seene in this our Hemisphere, that part of Heaven which turnes about this earth, the which was vnknowne to the Ancients: and have observed the two Poles, whereon the Heavens turne, as vpon their Axel-trees. I say, the Articke or North Pole, which those of *Enrope* beholde, and the other Antarticke or Southerne Pole (whereof saint *Augustine* is in doubt) the which we change and take for the North here at *Peru*, having passed the Equinoctiall line. Finally, it sufficeth that I have sayled neere 70. degrees from North to South, that is, forty of the one side of the line, and 23. on the other, omitting at this present the testimony of others, which have sayled much farther then my selfe, & in a greater height, comming neere 70 degrees towards the South. Who will not confesse, but the ship called the *Victorie* (worthie doubtlesse of eternall memorie) hath wonne the honor and praise to have best discovered and compassed the round earth, yea, that great *Chaos*, and insidite Vast, which the ancient Philosophers affirmed to bee vnder the earth, having compassed about the worlde, and circled the vastnesse of the great *Oceans*. Who is hee then, that will not confesse by this Navigation, but the whole earth (although it were bigger then it is described) is subiect to the feet of man, seeing he may measure it: Thus, without doubt the Heaven is of a round and perfect figure; and the earth

*Aug. lib. 2. de
Genes. ad lit.
cap. 10.*

likewise imbracing and ioyning with the water, makes one globe or round bowle framed of these two elements, having their bounds & limits within their own roundnes & greatnes. The which may be sufficiently proved by reasons of Philosophie and Astrologie, leaving al subtil definitions commonly obiected. That, to the most perfect body, (which is the Heaven) we must give the most perfect figure, which without doubt is round: whose circular motion could not be firme nor equall in it selfe, if it had any corner or nooke of any side, or if it were crooked, (as of necessitie it must be) if the Sun, Moone & stars, made not their course about the whole world. But leaving all these reasons, it seemes that the Moone is sufficient in this case, as a faithfull witnesse of the Heaven it selfe, seeing that her Eclipse happens, but when as the roundnesse of the earth opposeth it selfe diametrally betwixt her and the Sunne, and by that meanes keepes the Sunne-beames from shining on her. The which could not chance, if the earth were not in the midst of the world compassed in and invironed by the whole Heaven. Some haue doubted whether the light of the Moone were borrowed from the brightnes of the Sunne: but it is needlesse, seeing there can bee found no other cause of the Eclipses, full, and quarters of the Moone, but the communication of the beames which proceed from the Sunne. In like sort if wee will carefully examine this matter, we shall finde that the darkenesse of the night proceedes from no other cause but from the shadow which the earth makes, not suffering the light of the sunne to passe to the other parte of the heaven, where his beames shine not. If then it be so, that the sunne passeth no farther, neyther doth cast his beames

*Aug. ep. 109.
ad Iannarium.
cap. 9.*

Historie of the Indies. lib. 1. 7

beames on the other part of the earth, but onely turnes about, and returnes to his setting, making a ridge vpon the earth by his turning, (the which he must offorce confesse, that shall denie the roundnes of the heaven, seeing (according to their saying) the heaven as a basen doth onely couer the face of the earth,) it should then plainly follow, that wee could not obserue the difference betwixt the daies and nights, the which in some regions be short and long according to the seasons, and in some are alwaies equall: the which *S. Augustine* noteth in his bookes *De Genes. ad litteram*. That we may easily comprehend the oppositions, conversions, elevations, descents, and all other aspects and dispositions of Planets and starres, when we shall vnderstand they move, and yet notwithstanding the heaven remains firme and immoveable. The which seemeth to me easie to comprehend, and will be to all others, if it may be lawfull to imagine that which my fancy doth conceive: for if we suppose that every star and planet be a body of it selfe, & that it be led & guided by an Angell, as *Habacuc* was carried into *Babylon*: who I pray you is so blind, but seeth that all the diuerse aspects which we see appeare in planets & starres may proceede from the diuersity of motion which he that guides them doth voluntarily giue them. We cannot then with any reason affirme, but that this space & region by which they saine that stars do continually march and rowle, is elementarie and corruptible, seeing it diuides it selfe when they passe, the which vndoubtedly do not passe by any void place. If then the region wherein the starres and planets move, be corruptible, the stars and planets of their owne motion should be, by reason likewise corruptible, and so by consequence they

*August. lib. de
Genes. ad litteram.
cap. 29.*

Dan. 14.

Psal. 148.

must alter, change, and be finally extinct :; for naturally that which is contained is no more durable then that which containeth. And to say that the Celestiall bodies be corruptible, it agreeth not with the psalme, *That God made them for ever*: And it is lesse conformable to the order & preservation of this vniversall world . I say moreover, to confirme this truth, that the heauens move, and in them the starres march in turning, the which we cannot easily discerne with our eyes, seeing we see that not onely the starres do moue, but also the regions & whole parts of heaven : I speake not onely of the shining and most resplendent parts, as of that which we call *Via lactea*, and the vulgar, *S. Iaques way*, but also of the darker and obscurer parts in heaven. For there we see really, as it were spots and darkenes, which are most apparent : the which I remember not to haue seene at any time in Europe, but at *Pern*, and in this other *Hemisphere* I haue often seene them very apparant. These spots are in colour and forme like vnto the Eclips of the Moone, and are like vnto it in blacknes and darkenes : they march, fixed to the same starres, alwaies of one forme and bignes, as we haue noted by infallible observation. It may be this will seeme strange to some, & they will demand whence these spots in heaven should grow? To the which I cannot answere otherwise at this time, but (as the Philosophers do affirme) that this *Via lactea*, or milken way, is compounded of the thickest parts of the heaven : and for this cause it receiues the greater light, and contrariwise there are other parts very thinne and transparent, the which receiuing lesse light seeme more blacke & obscure. Whether this be the true reason or no, I dare not certainly affirme . Yet is it true, that according to the figure these spots haue in heaven, they moue with the same

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same proportion with their starres without any separation: the which is a true, certaine, and often noted experience. It followeth then by all that we haue said, that the heaven containeth in it all the parts of the earth, circling continually about it, without any more doubt.

*How the holy Scripture teacheth vs that the earth is in
middest of the world.* CHAP. 3.

ALthough it seemes to *Procopius, Gaza*, and to some others of his opinion, that it is repugnant to the holy Scripture to place the earth in the middest of the world, and to say that the heaven is round: yet in truth, this doctrine is not repugnant, but conformable to that which it doth teach vs. For laying aside the tearmes which the Scripture it selfe doth vse in many places, *The roundnesse of the earth*. And that which it sayeth in another place, that whatsoever is corporeall, is vniuer-
ned and compassed in by the heavens, and conteyned within the roundnes thereof: at the least thy cannot deny, but that place of Ecclesiastes is very plaine, where it is said, *The Sunne riseth and sets, and returnes to the same place, and so begins to rise againe: he takes his course by the South, turning towards the North: this spirit marcheth compassing about all thinges, and then returnes to the same place*. In this place the paraphrase and exposition of *Gregorie Neocesariensis, or Nazianzene*, sayeth, *The Sunne hauing runne about the whole earth, returnes as it were turning to the same point*. That which *Solomon* sayeth, (being interpreted by *Gregorie*) could not be true, if any part of
the

Hes. 13.

Sap. 1.2 7.11.

18.

Psal. 91.7.23.

39.97.

Iob 37.

Eccles. 1.

*Ierom. cap 3. ad
Ephes.*

*Basil hom. li. 1.
Hexam. prope
finem.*

*Amb. lib. 10.
Hexam cap. 6.*

Psal. 74.

Amb. 1. Hexa.

Iob. 9. 26.

the earth were not invironed with the heaven. And so S. *Ierome* doth vnderstand it, writing vpon the Epistle to the Ephesians, in this sort, *The most common opinion affirmes (agreeing with Ecclesiastes:)* That the heaven is round, mooving circularly like vnto a bowle. And it is most certaine, that no round figure conteyneth in it, cyther longitude, latitude, heigh or depth, for that all parts are equall. Whereby it appeares, according to S. *Ierome*, *That those which hold the heaven to be round, are not repugnant to the holy Scripture, but conformable to the same.* And although that S. *Basil* especially, and S. *Ambrose* (who doth vsually imitate him in his bookes called *Hexameron*) seeme soineewhat doubtfull of this point: yet in the end they grant that the world is round. It is true that S. *Ambrose* doth not yeelde to this quintessence, which *Aristotle* attributes to the heavens: without doubt it is a goodly thing to see with what a grace and excellent stile the holy Scripture treates of the situation and firmenes of the earth, to breed in vs a wonderfull admiration, and no lesse content to behold the vnspeakable power and wisdom of the Creator: For that in one place, God himselfe saies, that it was hee which planted the pillars which support the earth: giving vs to vnderstand (as S. *Ambrose* doth well expound it) that the vnmeasurable weight of the whole earth is held vp by the hands of the divine power. The holy Scripture doth commonly so call them, and vseth this phraze, naming them the pillars of heaven and earth: not those of *Atlas*, as the Poets faine: but of the eternall word of God, who by his vertue supports both heaven and earth. Moreover, the holy Scripture in an other place teacheth, that the earth, or a great part thereof, is ioyned to, and compassed in by the Element

ment of water, speaking generally, that God placed the earth vpon the waters. And in another place, that hee ^{Heb. 1.} framed the roundnes of the earth vpon the Sea. And although *S. Augustine* doth not conclude vpon this text as a matter of faith, that the earth and the water make one globe in the midst of the world, pretending by this meanes to give another exposition to the words of the Psalme: yet notwithstanding it is most certaine, that by the words of the psalme we are given to vnderstand, that we haue no other reason to imagine any other ciment or vniting to the earth then the Element of water, the which although it be pliant and moveable, yet doth it support and inviron this great masse of the earth, the which was wrought by the wisdome of that great Architect. They say, the earth is built vpon the waters, and vpon the sea: but contrariwise, the earth is rather vnder the waters: for according to common iudgement and imagination, that which is on the other part of the earth which we inhabite, seemes to be vnder the earth, and so by the same reason, the waters and sea, which doe compasse in the earth on the other part, should be vnderneath, and the earth aboue: yet the very truth is, that what is properly beneath, that is alwaies in the midst of the vniversall: but the holy scripture frames it selfe to our manner of conceiving and speaking. Some may demaund (seeing the earth is set vpon the waters, as the scripture sayeth,) whereon the waters are placed, or what support have they? And if the earth and the water make one round globe, how can all this monstrous masse be sustayned? To this the holy scripture answereth them in another place, giving vs greatest cause to admire the power of the Creator: and saith in these wordes: *The earth extends towards the* ^{Iob. 28.}
North

North upon the Vast, and styes hanging upon nothing. The which in trueth is very well spoken, for that really it seemes this heape of earth and water is set vpon nothing, when we describe it in the middest of the ayre, as in trueth it is. But this wonder which men so much admire, God himselfe hath not layd open, demanding of the same *Iob* in these termes : *Tell mee if thou canst, who hath layd the lyne or cast the lead for the building of the world, and with what morter the foundations have beene layed and ioyned.* Finally, to make vs vnderstand the fashion and modell of this admirable frame of the world, the Prophet *David* accustomed to sing and praise his diuine works, saies very well in a Psalm made of this subiect, in these wordes, *Thou which hast built the earth vpon firmenes it selfe, that it cannot stagger nor move for ever and ever.* Meaning to shew the cause why the earth set in the midst of the ayre, falleth not, nor staggeth from place to place, for that by nature it hath sure foundations, layed by the most wise Creator, to the end it might sustaine it selfe without any other support. Mans imagination is therefore deceived in this place, seeking other foundations of the earth, and for want thereof, doth measure diuine things, according to humane reason. So that we neede not feare (how great or heavy soeuer this masse of earth then hanging in the aire seemeth to be,) that it can fall or turne topsy turvy, being assured vpon this point: for that the same Psalmist saith, that it shall neuer be overthrowne. Truly *David* with reason (after he had beheld and sung the wonderful workes of the Lord) doth not cease to praise him in the same, saying, *O how great & wonderfull are the workes of the Lord.* It appeares that all spring from his knowledge. And in truth (if I shall freely speake my opinion

tou-

Iob. 38.

Psal. 103.

Psal. 103.

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touching this point) often in my travell passing the great gulfes of the *Ocean*, and marching by other regions of so strange lands, staying to behold and consider the greatnes of these workes of the Lord, I felt a wonderfull consolation of the soveraigne wisdom and greatnes of the Creator, who shines in his works: in comparison whereof, all the Pallaces, Castells, and princely buildings, together with all the inventions of man, seeme nothing, yea, are base and contemptible in respect thereof. O how often hath come into my minde and mouth that place of the Psalme, which sayeth thus, *Great comfort hast thou given me O Lord by thy workes: I will not cease to reioyce in the contemplation of the workes of thy hands.* Really and in truth, the workes of God haue (I know not what) secret & hidden grace and vertue: the which although they be often beheld, yet do they still cause a new taste and content: whereas contrariwise, the workes of man, although they be built with exquisite art, yet often seeme, they are no more esteemed, but breede a distaste: be they most pleasant Gardins, Pallaces, or stately Temples, be they Piramides of proud buildings, Pictures, carved images, or stones of rare worke and invention, or whatsoever else adorned with all the beauties possible: Yet is it most certain that viewing them twice or thrice with attention, the eye presently turnes away, being glutt with the sight thereof. But if you beholde the sea with attention, or some steepe mountaine, growing from a plaine to a strange heighth, or the fieldes clad in their naturall verdure with pleasant flowres, or the raging course of some river, beating continually against the rocks: finally, what worke of nature soever, although it be often viewed, yet doth it still breede a new content and ne-

ver

14 *The Naturall and Morall*

vergluttes the sight : the which is like vnto a stately
bancket of the diuine wisdom, which doth alwaies
cause a new consideration without any lothing.

*Containing an answer to that which is objected out of the
holy Scripture, against the roundnes of the earth.*

CHAP. 4.

Returning then to the figure of heaven, I know not
out of what authoritie of the holy scripture they
can prove that it is not round, nor his motion circular:
neither do I see (whereas S. Paul calles the heaven a Ta-
bernacle, or a Tent which God made, & not man:) how
can it be applied to this purpose: for although he telleth
vs that it was made by God, yet must we not therefore
coniecture that the heaven covereth the earth like to a
roofe on the one part only, neither that the heaven
was framed without motion, as it seemes some would
inferre. The Apostle in this place treated of the confor-
mity of the auncient Tabernacle of the lawe, saying
therevpon, that the Tabernacle of the new law of grace,
is heaven: into the which, the great Priest Iesus Christ,
entred once by his blood: and thereby is vnderstood,
that there is as great preheminance of the new about
the old, as there is difference betwixt the author of the
new, which is God, and of the olde which was man:
although it be most certen, that the olde was built by
the wisdom of God, who instructed his workman
Bezaleell. Neither must we imagine that these compari-
sons, parables, and allegories, doe in all thinges agree
with

Heb. 8.

Exo. 36.

with that wherevnto they are applyed, as the happy *Crysostom*: hath learnedly spoken vpon this point. The other authoritie (which *S. Augustine* saies is alleaged of some to shew that the heaven is not round) is this, *The heavens stretch forth like vnto a skin*. Whereby he concludes that it is not round, but flat on the vpper part, wherevnto the same Doctor doth answere verie well and familiarly, giuing vs to vnderstand that that place of the Psalme, is not properly to be vnderstood of the figure of heaven, but onely to shew with what facilitie God built so great a heaven, being no more painefull for him to build so huge a couer as the heaven is, then to vnfold a doubleskin. Or else the Psalmist pretending to shew vs the great maiesty of God; to whome the heaven with his greatnes and beautie doth serve in like manner, as our tents and pavilions in the field. The which was well expressed by a Poet calling it, *The Tent of the cleere heaven*. In like sort, the place of *Isaii*, which sayeth, *Heaven serves mee as a chaire, and the earth for a foote-stoole*. But if wee follow the error of the *Antromorphites*, which did attribute corporall members vnto God, according to his divinitie: we should haue occasion vppon this last text, to examine how it were possible the earth should be a foote-stoole to Gods feete, and how the same God could hold his feete of the one part and the other, and many heads round about, seeing that hee is in all partes of the world, which were a vaine and ridiculous thing. Wee must therefore conclude, that in the holy scriptures we ought not to follow the letter which killeth, but the spirit which quickneth, as saith *S. Paul*.

Chrysost. in 20. cap.

Psalm. 103.

Aug. 2. de Gen. ad litteram. ca. 9.

Isaie. 66.

2. Corin. 2.

If

Of the fashion and forme of Heaven, at the new-found world. CHAP. 5.

*Plin. lib. 6.
cap. 22.*

MAny in *Europe* demaund of what forme and fashion Heaven is in the Southerne parts, for that there is no certaintie found in ancient bookes, who although they graunt there is a Heaven on this other part of the world, yet come they not to any knowledge of the forme thereof, although in trueth they make mention of a goodly great Starre scene in those partes, which they call *Canopus*. Those which of late dayes have sayled into these parts, have accustomed to write strange things of this heaven; that it is very bright, having many goodly starres: and in effect, things which come farre, are commonly described with encrease. But it seemes contrary vnto me, holding it for certaine, that in our Region of the North, there is a greater number and bigger Starres; finding no starres in these partes, which exceed the Fisher or the Chariot in bignesse. It is true, that the Crosse in these partes is very sayre and pleasing to behold: wee call the Crosse, foure notable and apparant starres, which make the forme of a crosse, set equally and with proportion. The ignorant suppose this Crosse to be the southerne Pole, for that they see the Navigators take their heigh thereby, as we are accustomed to doe by the North starre. But they are deceyved, and the reason, why Saylers doe it in this ort, is for that in the South partes there is no fixed starre that markes the Pole, as the North starre doth to our Pole. And therefore they take their heigh by the
starre

starre at the foot of the Crosse, distant from the true and fixed Pole Antarticke thirtie degrees, as the North starre is distant from the Pole Articke three degrees or little more. And so it is more difficult to take the heighth in those parts, for that the sayd starre at the foote of the Crosse must bee right, the which chanceth but in one houre of the night; which is in divers seasons of the yeere in divers houres, and often times it appeareth not in the whole night, so as it is very difficult to take the heighth. And therefore the most expert Pilots regard not the Crosse, taking the heighth of the Sunne by the Astrolabe, by which they know in what height they are: wherein commonly the Portugals are more expert, as a Nation that hath more discourse in the Arte of Navigation then any other. There are also other starres in these southerne parts, which in some sort resemble those of the North. That which they call the Milken way, is larger and more resplendent in the south parts, appearing therein those admirable blacke spots, whereof wee have made mention. As for other particularities, let others speake of them with greater curiositie, and let this which wee have sayde, suffice for this time.

Via lactea.

That there is Land and Sea under the two Poles.

C H A P. 6.

It is no smal labour to have vnfolded this doubt with this knowledge and resolution, that there is a Heaven in these parts of the *Indies*, which doth cover them

as in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Affricke*. And this point ser-
 ueth often against many Spaniards, who beeing here,
 sigh for *Spaine*, having no discourse, but of their coun-
 trie, They wonder, yea, they grow discontented with
 vs, imagining that we have forgotten & make small ac-
 count of our native soyle. To whom we answered, that
 the desire to returne into *Spaine*, doth nothing trouble
 vs, being as neere vnto Heaven at *Pern*, as in *Spaine*: as
 saint *Jerome* saith well, writing vnto *Paulinus*; That the
 gates of Heaven are as neere vnto *Brittanie*, as to *Ierusa-*
lem. But although the Heaven doth compasse in the
 world of all parts, yet must we not imagine that there
 is land necessarily on all parts of the world. For being
 so, that the two elements of earth and water make one
 globe or bowle, according to the opinion of the most
 renowned ancient Authors, (as *Plutarch* testifieth) and
 as it is prooved by most certaine demonstrations, wee
 may coniecture, that the sea doth occupie all this part,
 which is vnder the Antartike or southerne Pole, so as
 there should not remaine any place in these partes for
 the earth, the which saint *Augustine* doth very lear-
 nedly hold against them that maintaine the *Antipodes*,
 saying, that although it bee prooved, and wee beleeve
 that the worlde is round like to a bowle, wee may not
 therefore inferre, that in this other part of the worlde,
 the earth is vncouered, and without water. Without
 doubt, saint *Augustine* speaks well vpon this point;
 and as the contrary is not prooved, so doth it not fol-
 low, that there is any land discovered at the Antarticke
 Pole. The which experience hath now plainly taught
 vs, for although the greatest part of the worlde vnder
 the Pole Antarticke be sea, yet is it not altogether, but
 there is likewise land, so as in all parts of the world, the
 earth

Plut. lib. de pla-
citis phil. cap. 9.
 & 11.

Aug. lib. 16. de
ciuit. cap. 9.

earth and water imbrace one another, which truly is a thing to make vs admire and glorifie the Arte of the soveraigne Creator. We know then by the holy Scripture, that in the beginning of the worlde, the waters ^{Genes.1.} were gathered together in one place, so as the earth remained vncovered. Moreover, the same holy Writte doth teach vs, that these gatherings together of the water were called Sea; and as there be many, so of necessity there must be many Seas. And this diversitie of seas is not onely in the *Mediterranean Sea*, whereas one is called *Euxine*, another the *Caspian*, an other the *Erethean* or redde Sea, an other the *Persian*, an other of *Italie*, and so many others. But also in the great *Ocean*, which the holy Scripture doth vsually call a gulph: although really and in trueth it be but a Sea; yet in many and divers manners: as in respect of *Peru* and all *America*, the one is called the North Sea, the other the South; and at the East Indies, the one is called the *Indian Sea*; the other that of *China*. And I have observed, as well by my owne navigation, as by the relation of others, that the Sea is never divided from the Lande above a thousand Leagues. And although the great *Ocean* stretcheth farte, yet doth it never passe this measure. I will not for all this affirme that wee sayle not above a thousand leagues in the *Ocean*, which were repugnant to trueth, being well knowne that the shippes of *Portugal* have sailed foure times as much, and more; and that the whole world may bee compassed about by sea, as wee have seene in these dayes, without any further doubt. But I say and affirme, that of that which is at this day discovered, there is no land distant from an other firme land, by direct line, or from some Islands neere vnto it above a thousand leagues, and so betwixt two firme

lands there is no greater distance of sea, accomping from the neereſt parts of both the lands: for from the end of *Europe* or *Aſſricke* and their coaſtes, to the *Canaries*, the Iſles of *Acores*, *Cape Verd* and others in the like degree, are not above three hundred leagues, or five hundred from the *Mayne land*. From the ſaide Iſlands running along to the *West Indies*, there are ſcant nine hundred leagues, to the Iſlands of ſaint *Dominick*, the *Virgins*, the *Happy Iſlandes* and the reſt; and the ſame Iſlands runne along in order to the Iſlandes of *Barlovent* which are *Cuba*, *Hiſpaniola*, and *Boriquen*; from the ſame Iſlands vnto the *Mayne land* are ſcarce two or three hundred leagues, & in the neereſt part farre leſſe. The firme land runnes an infinite ſpace, from *Terra Florida* to the land of *Patagons*, and on the other ſide of the South, from the Straight of *Maggellan*, to the Cape of *Mendoce*, there runnes a long Continent but not very large: for the largeſt is the Travers of *Peru*, which is diſtant from *Braſil* about a thouſand leagues. In this South Sea, although they have not yet diſcovered the ende towards the *West*, yet of late they have found out the Iſlands, which they call *Salomon*, the which are many and great, diſtant from *Peru* about eyght hundred leagues. And for that wee finde by obſervation, that whereas there bee many and great Iſlandes, ſo there is ſome firme Land not farre off, I my ſelfe with many others doe beleeeve, that there is ſome firme land neere vnto the Iſlands of *Salomon*, the which doth anſwere vnto our *America* on the *West* part, and poſſibly might runne by the heighth of the South, to the Straights of *Maggellan*. Some hold, that *Nova Guinca* is firme Land, and ſome learned men deſcribe it neere to the Iſlands of *Salomon*; ſo as it is likely, a good parte of the world

world is not yet discovered, seeing at this day our men sayle in the South Sea vnto *China* and the *Philippines*: and wee say, that to go from *Peru* to those parts, they passe a greater Sea, then in going from *Spaine* to *Peru*. Moreover, wee know, that by that famous Straight of *Maggellan* these two Seas doe ioine and continue one with an other (I say the South sea with that of the North) by that part of the *Antarticke Pole*, which is in fiftie one degrees of altitude. But it is a great question (wherein many have busied themselves) whether these two Seas ioine together in the North part: but I have not heard, that any vnto this day, could attayne vnto this point; but by certaine likelihoods and coniectures, some affirme, there is an other Straight vnder the North, opposite to that of *Maggellan*. But it sufficeth for our subiect, to knowe, that there is a firme Land on this Southerne part, as bigge as all *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Affricke*: that vnder both the Poles we finde both land and sea, one imbracing an other. Whereof the Ancients might stand in doubt, and contradict it for want of experience.

To confute the opinion of *Lactantius*, who holdes there be no *Antipodes*. CHAP. 7.

Seeing it is manifest, that there is firme land vpon the South part or Pole *Antartike*, wee must now see if it be inhabited: the which hath bene a matter very disputable in former times. *Lactantius Firmian*, and *S. Augustine* mocke at such as hold there be any *Antipodes*. *Lact. lib. 7. in 3. divin. cap. 23.*

*Aug. lib. 16. de
civitate. c. 9.*

podes, (which is as much to say, as men marching with their feete opposite to ours. But although these two authors agree in their yeasts, yet doe they differ much in their reasons and opinions, as they were of very divers spirits and iudgements. *Lactantius* followes the vulgar, seeming ridiculous vnto him that the heaven should be round, and that the earth should be compassed in the midst thereof, like vnto a ball, whereof he writes in these tearmes, *What reason is there for some to affirme, that there are Antipodes, whose steppes are opposite to ours? Is it possible that any should be so grosse and simple as to beleeeve there were a people or nation marching with their feete upwardes, and their heades downwardes, and that thinges which are placed heere of one sort, are in that other part hanging topsie turvie: that trees and corne growe downwardes, and that raine, snow, & haile, fall from the earth upward.* Then after some other discourse, the same *Lactantius* vseth these words, *The imagination and conceit which some haue had, supposing the heaven to be round, hath bene the cause to invent these Antipodes hanging in the aire. So as I knowe not what to say of such Philosophers, whose having once erred, continue still obstinately in their opinions defending one another.* But whatsoever he saith, wee that live now at *Peru*, and inhabite that part of the world which is opposite to *Asia* and their Antipodes (as the Cosmographers do teach vs) finde not our selves to be hanging in the aire, our heades downward, and our feete on high. Truly it is strange to consider, that the spirit and vnderstanding of man cannot attaine vnto the trueth, without the vse of imagination: and on the other part, it were impossible but he should erre and be deceived, if hee should wholly for-

forbeare it. We cannot comprehend the heaven to be round as it is, and the earth to bee in the midst of it, without imagination. But if this imagination were not controuled and reformed by reason, in the end we should bee deceiued; whereby we may certainly conclude, that in our soules there is a certaine light of heaven, whereby wee see and iudge of the interior formes which present themselves vnto vs, and by the same we allow of, or reiect that which imagination doth offer vnto vs. Hereby we see that the rationall soule is above all corporall powers: and as the force and eternall vigour of truth doth rule in the most eminent part of man: yea, we plainly see that this pure light is participant and proceedes from that first great light, that who so knoweth not this, or doubteth thereof, we may well say that he is ignorant, or doubteth whether he be a man or no. So, if we shall demanda of our imagination what it thinkes of the roundnes of heaven, without doubt she will answer vs as *Lactantius* doth, That if the heaven were round, the Sun & starres should fall, when as they move and change their places, rising towards the South. Even so, if the earth did hang in the ayre, those which inhabite the other part, should go with their feete vpwards, and their heades downward, and the raine which falles from above, should mount vpward, with many other ridiculous deformities. But if we consult with the force of reason, she will make small account of all these vaine imaginations, nor suffer vs to beleeeve them no more than a foolish dreame. But Reason will answer with this her integritie and gravitie, that it were a very grosse error, to imagine the whole world to be like vnto a house, placing the earth for the foundation, and the heaven

for the covering . Moreover she will say, that as in all creatures the head is the highest part and most elevated , although all creatures have not heades placed in one, and the same situation , some being in the highest part, as man , some athwart, as sheepe, others in the midst, as spiders:) even so the heaven, in what part soever it be, remains above, and the earth likewise in what part soever, remains vnderneath. Our imagination therefore is grounded vpon time and place, the which she cannot comprehend nor conceive in general, but in particular . It followeth, that when wee shall raise it to the consideration of things which exceede the time and place which are knowne vnto her, then presently she shrinkes and cannot subsist, if reason doth not support her. In like sort we see, vpon the discourse of the creation of the worlde, our imagination straiies to seeeke out a time before the creation thereof, and to build the world : she describes a place, but shee comes not to consider that the worlde might bee made after another fashion . Notwithstanding , reason doth teach vs, that there was no time before there was a motion, whereof time is the measure, neyther was there any place before the vniuersall , which comprehendes within it all place . Wherein the excellent Philosopher *Aristotle* doth plainly satisfie (and in few wordes) that argument made against the place of the earth, helping himselfe with our vse of imagination, when hee sayeth, and with trueth, *That in the world the same place of the earth is in the midst and beneath, and the more a thing is in the midst, the more it is vnderneath.* The which answer being produced by *Lactantius Firmian* , yet hee doth passe it over without confusion,

*Arist. 1. de Cel.
ca. 3.*

Historie of the Indies. lib. 1. 25

tation, by reason, saying that he cannot stay thereon, and omitte the handling of other matters.

The reason why S. Augustine denied the Antipodes.

CHAP. 8.

THE reason which moved S. *Augustine* to deny the *Antipodes*, was other then that formerly alleaged, being of a higher iudgement, for the reason before mentioned (that the *Antipodes* should go vpwards) is confuted by the same Doctor in his booke of sermons in these words, *The ancients hold, that the earth of all parts is beneath, and the heaven above, by reason whereof the Antipodes, which they say go opposite vnto vs, haue like vnto vs the heaven above their heads.* Seeing then S. *Augustine* hath confessed this to bee conformable to good Philosophie, what reason shall we say did move so learned and excellent a man to follow the contrary opinion? Doubtlesse he drew the motive and cause from the bowels of diuinitie, whereby the holie Writ doth teach vs, that all mankind doth come from the first man *Adam*: and to say that men could passe to that new world, crossing the great *Ocean*, were vncredible, and a meere lye. And in truth, if the successe an experience of what we haue seene in these ages, had not satisfied vs in this point, we had yet held this reason to bee good. And although we know this reason neither to be pertinent nor true, yet will we make answer therevnto, shewing in what sort, and by what meanes, the first lineage of men might passe thither, and howe and by what meanes they came to people and inhabite the Indies.

*Aug lib. Cate.
goricum. c. 10.
in roma. I.*

26 The Naturall and Morall

Lib. 16. cap. 9

Indies. And for that wee meane heereafter to intreat briefly of this subiect, it shall be fit now to vnderstand what the holy Doctor *Augustine* disputes vpon this matter in his bookes of the cittie of God, *It is no point that we ought to beleewe (as some affirme) that there are Antipodes, that is to say, men which inhabite that other part of the earth, in whose region the Sunne riseth when it sets with vs, and that their steppes be opposite and contrarie to ours, seeing they affirme not this by any certaine revelation which they have, but onely by a Philosophicall discourse they make, whereby they conclude, that the earth being in the middest of the world, inuironed of all parts and covered equallie with the heaven, of necessitie that must be in the lowest place which is in the midst of the world. Afterwardes hee continues in these words, The holie Scripture doth not erre, neither is deceived in anie sort: the truth whereof is well approved in that which it propoundeth of things which are passed, for as much as that which hath bene fore-told, hath succeded in every point, as we see: And it is a thing voide of all sense, to say, that men could passe from this continent to the new found world & cut through the Vast Ocean, seeing it were impossible for men to passe into those parts any other way, being most certain that al men descended from the first man. Wherein we see, that all the difficultie S. *Augustine* hath found, was nothing else but the incomparable greatnes of this vast Ocean. *Gregorie Nazianzene* was of the same opinion, assuring (as a matter without any doubt) that it was not possible to faile beyond the Straights of *Gibraltar*: and vpon this subiect he writes in an Epistle of his: I agree well with the saying of *Pindarus*, That past *Cadiz*, that Sea is not navigable. And hee himselve in the funerall Sermon he made for saint *Basil* saith: It was not tollerable for anie one sailing on the Sea, to passe the Straights*

Nazian. epist.
27. ad Postu-
micum.

Historie of the Indies. lib. i. 27

Straight of Gibraltar. And it is true, that this place of *Pindarus*, where he saith, *That it is not lawfull, neyther for wise men nor fooles, to know what is beyond the Straight of Gibraltar*, hath beene taken for a Proverbe. Thus we see by the beginning of this Proverbe, how the Ancients were oblatinately settled in this opinion; as also by the bookes of Poets, Historiographers and ancient Cosinographers, that the end and bounds of the earth were set at *Cadiz* in *Spaine*: where they plant the pillars of *Hercules*: there they set the limits of the Romane Empire, and there they describe the boundes of the world. And not onely prophane writers speake in this sort, but also the holy Scripture, to apply it selfe to our phrase saith, *That the edict of Augustus Cæsar was published, to the end that all the world should be taxed: and of Alexander the great, that he stretched forth his Empire even to the end and uttermost bounds of the earth*. And in another place they say, that the Gospell did flourish and increase through the vniversall world. For the holy Scripture by an vsuall phrase, calleth all the worlde, that which is the greatest part thereof, and was at that time discovered and knowne. And the Ancients were ignorant, that the East *Indian* Sea, and that of the West were navigable, wherein they have generally agreed. By reason whereof, *Plinie* writes as a certaine trueth, that the seas which are betwixt two lands, takes from vs a iust moitie of the habitable earth. For saith he, we cannot passe thither, neyther they come hither. Finally, *Tullie*, *Macrobius*, *Pomponius Mela*, and the ancient Writers hold the same opinion.

*of Aristotiles opinion, touching the new Worlde, and
what abused him to make him deny it.* CHAP. 9.

BESIDES all the former reasons, there was yet another, which mooved the Ancients to beleeve it to be impossible for men to passe to this new world: the which they held, for that besides the vastnesse of the great *Ocean*, the heate of that Region, which they call the burning *Zone*, was so excessive, as it would not suffer any man, how venturous or laborious so-ever, to passe by sea or land, from one Pole to an other. For although these Philosophers have themselves affirmed, that the earth was round, (as in effect it is) and that vnder the 2. Poles there was habitable land, yet could they not conceyve, that the Region, containing all that lyeth betwixt the two Tropickes, (which is the greatest of the five *Zones* or Regions, by the which the Cosmographers and Astrologers divide the Worlde) might be inhabited by man. The reason they give to maintaine this *Zone* to be inhabitable, was, for the heat of the Sunne, which makes his course directly over this Region, and approacheth so neere, as it is set on fire, and so by consequence, causeth a want of waters and pastures. *Aristotle* was of this opinion, who although he were a great Philosopher, yet was hee deceyved in this poynt: for the cleering whereof, it shall be good to observe his reasons, and to note wherein he hath discoursed well, and wherein he hath erred. This Philosopher makes a question of the Meridionall or Southerne winde, whether wee should beleeve it takes his beginning

*Arist. 2. Meta
cap. 5.*

Historie of the Indies. lib. 1. 29

beginning from the South, or from the other Pole contrary to the North, and writes in these termes. *Reason teacheth vs, that the latitude and largeness of the habitable earth, hath her boundes and limits, and yet all this habitable earth cannot bee united and ioyned one to the other, by reason the middle Region is so intemperate. For it is certaine, that in her longitude, which is from East to West, there is no immoderate cold nor heate, but in her latitude and heighth, which is from the Pole to the Equinoctiall Line. So as we may well passe the whole earth in her longitude, if the greatnesse of the Sea, which ioynes lands together, were no hinderance.* Hitherto there is no contradicting of *Aristotle*, who hath great reason to affirme, that the earth in her longitude, which is from East to West, runnes more equally, & is more proper for the life and habitation of man, then in her latitude from North to South. The which is true, not onely for this foresaid reason of *Aristotle*, that there is alwayes one temperature of the Heavens from East to West, being equally distant both from the Northerne colde and the Southerne heate. But also for an other reason, for that travelling alwayes in longitude, we see the dayes and nights succeed one another by course, the which falleth not out going in her latitude: for of necessitie wee must come to that Region vnder the Pole, whereas there is continuall night for fixe Moneths, a very inconvenient thing for the life of man. The Philosopher passeth on further, reprooving the Geographers, which described the earth in his time, and saith thus: *Wee may discern the truth of that which I have sayd, by the passages which may be made by land, and the navigations by sea, for there is a great difference betwixt the longitude and the latitude, for the distance from the pillars of Hercules, at the Straight of Gibraltar,*

Gibraltar, vnto the East Indies, exceeds the proportion of above five to three, the passage which is from Ethiopia to the lake of Meotis in the farthest confines of Scythia, the which is confirmed by the account of iourneyes by land, & by sayling, as we do now know by experience: we have also knowledge of the habitable earth, even vnto those partes which are inhabitable. And truly in this point wee must pardon Aristotle, seeing that in his time, they had not discovered beyond the first Ethiopia, called the exterior, ioyning to Arabia and Affricke, the other Ethiopia being wholly vnkowne in his age: Yea, all that great Land, which we now call the Land of Prete Ian, neyther had they any knowledge of the rest that lyes vnder the Equinoctiall, and runnes beyond the Tropicke of Capricorne, vnto the Cape of good Hope, so famous and well knowne by the navigation of Portugals; so as if wee measure the Land from this Cape vnto Scythia and Tartaria, there is no doubt, but this distance and latitude, will prooue as great as the longitude, which is from Gibraltar vnto the East Indies. It is certaine, the Ancients had no knowledge of the springs of Nilus, nor of the ende of Ethiopia; and therefore Lucan. re-prooves the curiositie of Iulius Caesar, searching out the springs of Nilus in these verses;

Lucan. 10.
Pharsal.

O Romaine what availes thee so much travell,
In search of Niles first source thy selfe to gravell.
And the same Poet, speaking to Nile sayth:

Since thy first source is yet so vnrevealed,
Nile, what thou art, is from the world concealed.

Soph. 44. 3.

But by the holy scripture we may conceive that this land is habitable: for if it were not, the Prophet Sophonias would not say (speaking of these nations called to the Gospel,) *The children of my dispersed* (so he calleth

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scatter the Apostles) shall bring me presents from beyond the banks of Ethiopia. Yet (as I have said) there is reason to pardon the Philosopher, who beleev'd the writers and Cosmographers of his time. Let vs continue and examine what followes of the same Aristotle: One part of the world (saith he) which lieth towards the North, beyond the temperate zone, is inhabitable for the exceeding cold: the other part upon the South, is likewise inhabitable beyond the Tropicke for the extreame heate. But the partes of the world lying beyond India on the one side, and the pillars of Hercules on the other, without doubt cannot bee joyned and continued one with the other: so as all the habitable earth is not contained in one continent, by reason of the sea which divides it. In this last point he speakes truth: then hee continues touching the other partes of the world, saying, It is necessarie the earth should have the same proportion with the Pole Antarticke, as this our part which is habitable hath with the North: and there is no doubt, but in that other world all things should be ordred as in ours, especially in the growing and order of the winds. And having alleaged other reasons to no purpose, he concludes, saying, We must confesse of necessitie, that the Southerne wind is that which blowes and comes from the burning zone, the which being so neere the sunne, wantes water and pastures. This is Aristotles opinion, and in truth, mans coniecture can hardly passe any farther. So as I do often consider (with a Christian contemplation) how weake the Philosophie of the wise of this world hath bene in the search of divine things, seeing in humaine things (wherein they seeme so well read) they often erre. Aristotle holds, that the habitable earth of the Pole Antartike, in longitude from East to West is very great, and in latitude from the Pole Antartike

to.

to the Equinoſticall is very ſmall : the which is ſo contrary to the truth, that in a maner all the habitation on this ſide the Pole *Antartike* is in latitude, (I meane from the Pole to the line) and in longitude from Eaſt to Weſt it is ſo ſmall, as the latitude exceeds it three partes or more. In his other opinion he affirmes, that the middle region is inhabitable, being vnder the burning zone, burnt vp by the exceſſive heate cauſed by the neerenes of the ſunne, and by this reaſon hath neither waters nor paſtures. The which is in like ſort contrary : for the greateſt part of this new world, is ſituated betwixt the two Tropickes vnder the burning zone, and yet is it found very well peopled and inhabited by men and other ſortes of creatures, being a region of all the world the moſt fruitful of waters and paſtures, and very temperate in the greateſt part, which the will of God hath ſo appointed, to ſhew that even in naturall things he hath confounded the wiſedome of this world. To conclude, wee muſt beleeeve that the burning zone is well inhabited, although the auncients have held it impoſſible. But the other zone or region, which lyeth betwixt the burning zone and that of the Pole *Antartike*, although it bee in a climate more commodious for the life of man, yet is it ſmally peopled and inhabited, ſeeing wee know no other dwelling in it but the Kingdome of *Chile* and a ſmall portion ioyning to the Cape of good *Hope*. The reſt is poſſeſſed by the *Ocean*. Although many be of opinion (the which I likewise hold) that there is much more land not yet diſcovered, the which ſhould be firme land oppoſite to the Kingdome of *Chile*, which runnes beyond the circle or Tropicke of capricorne. And if there be any : without doubt it is a land of an excellent

lent temper, being in the midst of two extreames, and situate in the same climate with the best regions in Europe. And in this regarde *Aristotles* coniecture was good. But speaking of what is discovered at this day in this zone, it is little in regard of the large countries inhabited vnder the burning zone

That Plinie, and the auncients, held the same opinion with Aristotle. CHAP. 10.

THIS opinion of *Aristotles*, hath bene held by *Plinie*, who saith thus, *The temperature of the middle region of the world, where the sunne continually runnes his course, is scorched and burnt up as with a neere fire.* ^{*Plin. lib. 1. cap. 61.*} Ioyning to the same region, there are two others of eyther side, which (lying betwixt the heat of this burning zone & the cruell cold of the other two extreames,) are very temperate, and can have no communication one with another, by reason of the excessive heate of the heaven: which hath bene the opinion of the Ancients, generally discribed by the Poet in these verses.

*Heavens circuit is of five Zones, one whereof,
Which still the sunne burnes, makes the earth below
With flames intempestive red hotte to glow.*

And the same Poet in another place.

Heare this, if any harbour in that seate

Whose quarter vnder that large Zone is set

Amidst foure others by the sunne enlighbred.

And another Poet speakes more plainly.

The Naturall and Morall

*As many regions are there on the ground,
As are in heaven, wherein five parts are found,
Whereof the midst, through heate raised from the rayes
Of scorching sunne, inhabitable staies.*

The Auncients have grounded their generall opinion vpon one reason, which seemed to them certaine and not to be confuted: for finding that the more a region drew neere vnto the South, the hotter it was: the prooffe whereof was so infallible in those regions, as by the same reason in *Italie*, *Apulia* is hotter then *Tuscane*, and in *Spaine Andelozia* then *Biscae*. A thing so apparent, that although there bee but eight degrees difference or lesse betwixt the one and the other, yet do wee finde the one extreame hotte, and the other very colde, whereby they did inferre, that the region so neere the South, having the sunne so directly for zenith, must of necessity bee continually scorched with heate. They did likewise see, that the diuers seasons of the yeere, as the Spring, Summer, Autumne & Winter, were caused by the neerenes and distance of the sunne, finding also that although they were farre from the Tropicke, by which the sunne doth passe in summer, yet when it approached neere vnto them, at the same season they felt great heate. Whereby they did coniecture, that if they had had the sunne so neere vnto them as to go directly over their heads, the heate would have bene so insupportable, as it would burne and consume men with the vehemency thereof. The same reason moved the Auncients, to thinke that the middle region was not habitable, and therefore they called it the burning zone. And in truth, if visible experience did not vnfold this doubt, we should yet confesse, that this reason were very peremptorie and

and Mathematicall : whereby we may see how weake our vnderstanding is, to comprehend these naturall things. But wee may say, it is fallen out to the great good and happines of our age, to have the knowledge of these two great wonders, that is, to know how easily we may saile through the great Ocean, and that vnder the burning zone men inioy a very temperate heaven, the which the Auncients could never beleeeve. Of the last of these two wonders, touching the qualitie and habitation of the burning zone, by the grace of God we will discourse amply thereof in the next book. I thinke it therefore fit in this booke to treat of the maner of sailing through the Ocean, for that it imports vs much for the subiect of this worke. But before wee come to this point, it shall be good to shew what the Auncients thought of these new men, whome we call Indians.

That in ancient Bookes we finde some knowledge of this newe world. CHAP. II.

LEt vs returne to that which hath beene formerly spoken. Wee must necessarily conclude, that the Ancients did beleeeve, that cyther there were no men beyond the Tropicke of *Cancer* (as *S. Augustine* and *Lactantius* doe affirme) or if there were any, at the least they did not inhabite betwixt the two Tropicks, (as *Aristotle* and *Plinie* have maintained, and before them the Philosopher *Parmenides*) the contrarie whereof is before sufficiently prooved, both for the

*Plutarch. 3. de
placitis phil.
cap. 11.*

one and the other. But many through curiositie may
 demaund, if the Ancients had no knowledge of this
 trueth, which to vs is now so apparent : seeing that in
 trueth it seemeth very strange, that this newe worlde
 which is so spacious as we doe visibly see it, should be
 hidden from the Ancients by so many ages. But some
 at this day, seeking to obscure the felicitie of this age,
 and the glory of our Nation, strive to proove, that the
 new-found world was knowne to the Ancients. And
 in trueth wee cannot deny, but there was some appa-
 rency. *S. Ierome* writing vpon the Epistle to the *Ephesi-
 ans*, sayth, *We seeke with reason what the Apostle meaneth
 in these wordes, where he saith: you have walked for a season
 according to the course of this world, whether he would have
 vs to vnderstand, that there is an other world, which neither
 is, nor depends of this world: but other worldes, whereof
 Clement writes in his Epistle, the Ocean and the worldes
 which are beyond the Ocean: These are the wordes of
 S. Ierome, but in trueth I cannot finde this Epistle of
 S. Clement cited by S. Ierome: yet I beleeeve vndoubted-
 ly, that S. Clement hath written it, seeing S. Ierome ma-
 keth mention thereof. And with reason saint Clement
 saith, that beyond the Ocean there is an other worlde,
 yea, many worldes, as in trueth there is, seeing there
 is so great distance from one newe worlde to an other
 new world: (I meane from *Peru* and the West Indies,
 to *China* and the East Indies.) Moreover, *Plinie*, who
 hath bene so curious a searcher out of strange things,
 reportes in his naturall Historie, that *Hannon* a Cap-
 taine of the *Carthaginians*, sayled through the Ocean,
 from the Straight of *Gibraltar*, coasting alongst the
 land, even vnto the confines of *Arabia*, and that hee
 left this his Navigation in writing. If it bee as *Plinie*
 writes,*

*S. Ierom. super
 ap. I. ad Ephes.*

Plin. li. 2. c. 67.

writes; it followes that *Hannon* sayled as farre as the *Portugals* do at this day, passing twice vnder the Equinoctiall: which is a fearefull thing. And the same *Plinie* reports of *Cornelius Nepos* a very grave Authour, who saith, that the same course hath beene sayled by another man, called *Eudaxius*, but by contrary wayes: for this *Eudaxius* following the King of *Latyres*, passed by the redde sea into the Ocean; and turning backe, came to the Straight of *Gibraltar*, the which *Cornelius Nepos* affirms to have happened in his time: And also other grave Authors do write, that a ship of *Carthage* driven by force of winde into the Ocean, came to a Land, which vntill then was vnknowne: and returning to *Carthage*, kindled a great desire in the Citizens to discover and people this land: the which the Senate perceiving, did forbid this navigation by a rigorous decree, fearing that with the desire of new lands, they should leave to love their owne Countrey. By all this wee may gather, that the Ancients had some knowledge of the new world: yet shall you hardly finde in the bookes of ancient Writers, any thing written of our *America*, and all the West Indies: but of the East Indies (I say) there is sufficient testimonie, not only of that on the other side, but also of that on this side, which then was farthest off; going thither by a contrary way to that at this day. Is it not easie to find *Moloco* in ancient bookes, which they called the golden *Chersonese*: the Cape of *Comeri*, which was called the Promontorie of *Coci*; & that great & famous Iland of *Sumatra*, so well knowne by the ancient name of *Talabana*. What shall wee say of the two *Ethiopiaes*, the *Brachmanes*, and that great Land of the *Chinaes*? Who doubtles, but there was often mention made thereof in

Plin. lib. 6.
cap. 21.

ancient bookes: But of the West Indies, we find not in *Plinie*, that in this navigation they passed the Ilands of the *Canaries*, which he calleth *Fortunate*: the principall whereof is sayd to be called *Canarie*, for the multitude of dogs which are in it. But there is scarce any mention in ancient books of the voyages which are made at this day beyond the *Canaries*, by the Gulph which with reason they call great. Yet many hold opinion, that *Seneca* the Tragedian did prophetic of the West Indies, in his Tragedie of *Medea*, which translated, saith thus;

*Senec. in Med.
Act. 2. in fin.*

*An age shall come, ere ages ende,
Blessedly strange and strangely blest,
When our Sea farre and neere or prest,
His shoare shall farther yet extend.*

*Descryed then shall a large Land be,
By this profound Seas navigation;
An other World, an other Nation,
All men shall then discovered see.*

*Thule accounted heretofore
The worldes extreme, the Northerne bound,
Shall be when Southwest parts be found,
A neerer Isle, a neighbour shoare.*

This *Seneca* reports in these verses; & we cannot well deny, but (vnderstanding it literally) it is very true: for if we reckon the many yeeres he speakes of, beginning from the time of the Tragedian, it is above a thousand and foure hundred yeeres past: and if it were from the time of *Medea*, it is above two thousand yeeres, the which we see plainly now accomplished: seeing the passage of the Ocean so long time hidden, hath beene found out, and that they have discovered a great land and a new world inhabited, more spacious
then

then all the Continent of *Europe* and *Asia*. But therein may a question with reason be made, whether *Seneca* spake this by divination, or poetically and by chance. And to speake my opinion, I beleeve hee did divine, after the manner of wise men and well advised; for that in his time they vndertooke newe voyages and navigations by sea, hee knew well, like a Philosopher, that there was an other land contrary and opposite vnto vs, which they call *Antichiton*. And by this ground he might conceyve, that the industrie and courage of man might in the ende passe the Ocean, and discover new lands and another world, for that in *Seneca's* time, they had knowledge of the Voyage which *Plinie* speaketh of, whereby they passed the great Ocean. The which seemes to bee the motive of *Seneca's* propheticie, as he giveth vs to vnderstand by these former verses, after the which having described the carefull life of the Ancients, free from malice, he followeth thus:

*Now is it not as erst it was,
For whether the Ocean will or nill,
He traverst is by hardy will:
Which pastime makes time so to passe.*

And a little after he saith thus:

*Now every boat dares swimme and sport
On surging Seas, fearing no wracke:
Passengers seeking what they lacke,
So long a voyage thinke but short.*

*Nothing is now more to discover,
No place is now left to surprize,
Townes now that for defence devise,
With new fortifications cover.*

*All in the world turn'd round about,
No thing in place as t'was enured,*

Nothing vnscene, nothing assured

This Circle vniverse throughout.

The Indian, whom at home heate fries,

Drinkes of Araxis waters cold:

The Persian rich in gems and gold,

Wash in the Rhine and Elbe likewise.

Seneca did coniecture this by the great courage of men, as that which shall happen last, saying, It shall fall out in the latter age, &c. as hath bin before mentioned.

of the opinion which Plato held of the West Indies.

CHAP. 12.

IF any one hath treated more particularly of the west Indies; the honor belongs to *Plato*, who in his time saith thus. *In those dayes, they could not sayle this Gulph* (meaning the *Atlantike Sea* (which is the Ocean) which meetes at the Straight of *Gibraltar*) *for that the passage was stopt at the mouth of the pillars of Hercules,* (which is the same Straight of *Gibraltar*) *and this Island was in those dayes ioyned to the foresaid mouth, and was of that bignesse, as it exceeded all Asia and Affricke together: and then was there a passage to goe from these Islands to others, and from those others Ilandes, they went to the firme Land, the which was neere inuironed with the very Sea.* This is reported by *Critias* in *Plato*. And such as beleeve that this narration of *Plato* is a true Historie, delivered in these termes, say, that this great *Atlantike Island* (the which did exceed both *Affricke* and *Asia* in greatnesse) did then comprehend the greatest part of the Ocean called *Atlantike*: which the *Spaniards* now sayle in: and that those other Ilands, which (he sayde) were

were neere vnto this great one; are those, which wee now call the Ilands of *Barlovanie*; that is, *Cuba*, *Hispaniola*, *S. Iohn de Port ricco*, *Iamaica*, and other Ilands of that Countrie: and that the maine Land whereof hee maketh mention, is the same wee now call firme Land, that is, *Peru* and *America*; and that Sea, which he sayth is adioyning to the firme Land, is the South sea, the which he calleth the very Sea, for that in comparison of her greatnesse, all other Seas, both *Mediterranean*, yea, and the *Atlantike* Sea, are small in regard thereof. Hereby in trueth they give a cunning and wittie interpretation to these words of *Plato*. But whether this interpretation should be held for true or not, I am resolved to declare in an other place.

That some have held opinion that in places of holy Scripture, whereas they speake of Ophir, is to be understood of our Peru. CHAP. 13.

SOME hold opinion, that mention is made of the West Indies in the holy scripture, taking the region of *Peru* for that *Ophir* which so famous *Robert Steevens*, or to say more truely *Francis Vatable*, a man well seene in the Hebrew tong (as I have heard our master report, who was his disciple) saith in his annotations vpon the 9. chapter of the 3. booke of Kings, that the Iland of *Hispaniola* which *Christopher Columbus* found out; was that of *Ophir*, from whence *Solomon* caused to bee brought foure hundred and twentie, or foure hundred and 50. talents of most fine and pure golde, for that the golde of *Cibao* which our men bring from *Hispaniola*, is of the same fashion and qualitie. And there are many

*In 3. lib. Reg.
cap. 9.*

*In appocato
Biblia regie
in pba leg. ca. 9.*

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2. *Para.* 17. 9.
3. *Reg.* 10.

2. *Para.* 8.
4. *Reg.* 22.
9. *Reg.* 9.

many others which affirme that our *Peru* is *Ophir*, deriving one name from another, who beleieve, that when as the booke of *Paralipomenon* was written, they called it *Peru*, grounding it vpon that which the holy scripture saith, that they brought from *Ophir* pure gold, precious stones, and wood which was rare and goodly, which things abound in *Peru*, as they say. But in my opinion, it is farre from the truth, that *Peru* should be *Ophir* so famous in the Bible. For although in this *Peru*, there be good store of gold, yet is there not such abundance, as it may be equalled with the fame of the riches that was in auncient time at the East Indies. I finde not that in *Peru* there are such precious stones, or such exquisite woods, as the like have not bend scene at *Ierusalem*. For although there be exquisite Emeralds, and some hard trees of Aromaticall wood, yet do I not finde any thing offo great commendation as the scripture giueth vnto *Ophir*. Moreover, it seemes not likely that *Solomon* would leave the East Indies (most rich and plentifull) to send his flectes to this farther land: whether if they had come so often (as it is written,) we had surely found more signes and testimonies thereof. Moreover, the *Etimologie* of the name of *Ophir*, and the change or reduction thereof to *Peru*, seemes to me of small consideration, being most certaine that the name of *Peru* is not very auncient, nor common to all that countrie. It hath bene vsuall in the discoverie of the new world, to give names to lands and portes of the sea, according to the occasions presented at their ariuall: and I beleieve that the name of *Peru*, hath bene so found out, and put in practise: for we find heere that the name hath bene given to all the countrie of *Peru*, by reason of a river so called

led by the inhabitants of the countrie, where the Spaniards arived vpon their first discoverie. Whereby we maintaine that the Indians themselves bee ignorant, and do not vse this name and appellation to signifie their land. It seemeth moreover, the same Authors will say, that *Sepher* spoken of in the scripture, is that which we now call *Andes*, which are most high mountaines in *Peru*. But this resemblance of names and appellations is no sufficient prooffe. If that were of force, we might as well say, that *Iectan* is *Iecsan*, mentioned in the holy scripture. Neither may we say, that the names of *Titus* and *Paul*, which the Kings *Inguas* of *Peru* do vse, come from the Romans or Christians, seeing it is too weake an argument, to draw a conclusion of great matters. We see plainly, that it is contrary to the intention of the holy scriptures, which some have written, that *Tharxis* and *Ophir* were one and the same Province, conferring the 22. chapter of the 4. booke of the Kings, with the 20. chapter of the second booke of *Paralipomenon*, for that in the booke of the Kings, it is said, that *Iosaphat* prepared a fleete of shippes in *Asiongaber* to fetch golde at *Ophir*, and in *Paralipomenon*, it is written, that the same fleete was furnished to go vnto *Tharxis*. Whereby it may be supposed, that in these fore-said bookes, where the scripturespeakes of *Tharxis* and *Ophir*, that it meanes one thing. Some one may demaund, what region or Province that *Ophir* was, whether *Solomons* fleete went with the Mariners of *Hiram* King of *Tyre* and *Sidon* to fetch hold. And whether King *Iosaphats* fleete, pretending to go, did suffer shipwracke, and perish in *Asiongaber*, as the holy scripture doth testifie. In this I do willingly agree with the opinion of *Ioseph*, in his books

Iectan filius Hober Gen 10.

Iecsan filius Abraba ex Gen 14. Gen 23.

3. Reg. 9.

4. Reg. 22.

of

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Gen. 10.

of Antiquities, where he saith, that it is a Province of the East Indies, the which was found by that *Ophir* the sonne of *Iectan*, whereof mention is made in the 10. of Genesis: and that Province did abound with most fine gold. Thereof it comes, they did so much extol the gold of *Ophir* or of *Ophas*, or as some wil say, this word of *Obrise* is the same with *Ophrise*, for finding there seven sortes or kindes of gold (as S. *Ierome*. reportes,) that of *Ophir* was held for the most fine, as heere we esteeme the gold of *Valdivia* and *Caramaya*. The chiefest reason which moves me to thinke that *Ophir* is at the East Indies, and not in the West, is, for that *Solomons* fleete could not come hither, without passing the East Indies, all *China*; and a great part of the sea: being vnlikely they would passe over all the world to come thither for gold, that continent especially lying in that sort, as they could not come to the knowledge thereof by any voiage by land. And hereafter we wil shew that the Ancients had never knowledge in the arte of Navigation, without the which they could not runne so farre into the sea. Finally, in these matters (when as there appears no certaine proofes, but onely light coniectures,) wee are not bound to beleewe but what we shall thinke good.

What *Tharsis* and *Ophir* signifie in the holy Scripture.

CHAP. 14.

I Fevery mans coniecture and opinion may be allowed, for my part I hold, that in the holy scripture these words of *Tharsis* and *Ophir*, most commonly do not signifie any certaine place: but it is a word and signification

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fication generall to the Hebrewes, as in our vulgar tongue, this word of *Indies*, is generall vnto vs in our vsuall maner of speech: for wee meane by the *Indies*, those rich countries which are farre off, and strange vnto vs. So we Spaniards do indifferently call *Indies*, the countries of *Peru*, *Mexico*, *China*, *Malaca*, and *Bresil*: and from what parts soever of these any letters come, wee say they bee from the *Indies*, which countries be farre distant and different one from another. Yet we cannot denie, but that name of *Indies*, is properly to be vnderstood of the East Indies. And for that in olde time they did speake of these *Indies*, as of a countrie farre off, so likewise, in the discoverie of other remote lands, they have given them the names of Indies, being distant from the rest, and held as the end of the world. Even so, in my iudgement, *Tharsis* in the holy scripture, doth not signifie any certaine and determined place, but onely regions a farre off, and (according to the vulgar opinion,) very rich and strange: for that which *Iosephus* and some others would affirme, that *Tharsis* is *Tarso*, according to the meaning of the scripture, in my opinion, hath bene well refuted by *S. Ierome*: not onely for that these wordes are written with diuers letters, the one with an aspiration, the other without: but also, that many things are written of *Tharsis*, which cannot agree with *Tarso*, a Citie in *Cilicia*. It is true, that in some places of the scripture, *Tharsis* is said to be in *Cilicia*; the which you shall find in the booke of *Iudith*, speaking of *Holofernes*, who having passed the limits of *Assyria*, he came to the great mountaines of *Ange*, (which perchance is *Taurus*,) which hilles be on the left hand of *Cilicia*, and that he entred into all the Castells, where he assembled

*Ierom ad Mar-
cel. in. 3. tomo.*

Iudith. 2.

*Lege Plin. lib.
5. cap. 27.*

all

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all his forces, having destroyed that famous Citie of *Melothi*, he ruined all the children of *Tharsis* and of *Israell*, which were ioyning vnto the desert, and those which were in the South, towards the land of *Cellon*, and from thence passed *Euphrates*: but as I have saide, that which is so written of *Tharsis*, cannot be applied to the Citie of *Tharso*. *Theodoret* and some others, following the interpretation of the 70. in some places they set *Tharsis* in *Affrike*, saying, it was the same Citie which was aunciently called *Carthage*, and is now the kingdome of *Tunis*: and they say, that *Ionas* ment to go thether, when as the scripture reports, that he fled from the Lord into *Tharsis*. Others pretend, that *Tharsis*, is a certaine countrie of the Indies: wherevnto it seemes that *S. Ierome* is inclined. I will not now decide these opinions: but I holde that in this case, the scripture doth not alwaies signifie one region or certaine part of the world. It is true, that the wise men or Kings that came to worshippe Christ, were of the East: and the scripture saith, they were of *Saba*, *Epha*, and *Madiam*. And some learned men holde that they were of *Ethiopia*, *Arabia*, and *Persia*: and yet the Psalmist and the Church sings of them: *The Kings of Tharsis shall bring presents*. Wee agree then with *S. Ierome*: that *Tharsis*, is a word that hath many and diuers significations in the scripture. Sometimes it signifies the *Crisolite*, or *Iacinth* stone, sometimes a certaine region of the Indies, sometimes the sea which is of the colour of a Iacinth by the reverberation of the sunne. But the same Doctor doth with reason deny that *Tharsis* is any region of the Indies whether *Ionas* would fly, seeing that parting from *Ioppa*, it had beene impossible to saile vnto the Indies by that sea, for that *Ioppa* (which at this day

*Theodor in I.
Ioan.*

*Affasmont ibid
and in alphabe-
to aparatus.*

Ier. ad Mareel.

*Psal 60
Isaie. 16.*

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day wee call *Iasse*,) is no port of the red Sea, ioyning to the East Indian Sea, but of the Mediterranean Sea, which hath no issue into the Indian. Whereby it doeth plainly appeare, that the voyage which *Solomons* Fleet made, parting from *Asiongaber* (whereas the shippes of king *Iosaphat* were lost) went by the redde Sea to *Tharsis* and *Ophir*, the which is directly testified in the Scripture. The which voyage was very different from that which *Ionas* pretended to *Tharsis*: seeing that *Asiongaber* is the port of a Cittie of *Idumea*, seated vpon the Straight, whereas the red sea ioynes with the great Ocean. From this *Ophir* they brought to *Salomon* gold, silver, Elephants teeth, Monkeys, Indian Cocks, and their voyage was of three yeeres: all which without doubt ought to bee vnderstood of the East Indies, which is fruitfull and abundant of all these thinges, as *Plinie* testifieth, and our owne experience doth witnes. From our *Pern*, doubtlesse they could not bring any Elephants teeth, those beastes beeing vnknowne there; but they might well bring gold, silver, and pleasant monkeys. Finally, the holy Scripture, in my opinion, doth commonly vnderstand by this word of *Tharsis*, eyther the great Sea, or farre and strange Regions. So as he supposeth that the prophecies which speake of *Tharsis* (seeing the spirit of Prophecie may comprehend all things) may often be applied to things of our new world.

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Of the Prophecie of Abdias, which some doe interpret to be the Indies. CHAP. 15.

Many say and affirme, that in the holy Scripture it was foretold long before, that this new worlde should be converted to Iesus Christ by the Spanish nation; and to this purpose they expound the text of the Prophecie of *Abdias*, which sayth thus: *At the transmigration of this Oſt, the children of Israel shall possesse all the dwellings of the Cananites vnto Sarepte, and the transmigration of Ierusalem, which is at Bosphorus, shall possesse the Citties of the South, and they that shall save, shall come vp to the hill of Sion to iudge the mount of Esau, and the kingdome shall bee the Lords.* This hath beene set downe according to the letter, but the hebrew Authors reade it thus: *And the transmigration of this Oſt of the children, which be the Cananites, vnto Zarphat (which is France) and the transmigration of Ierusalem, which is in Sapharad (vnderstood for Spaine) shall possesse for inheritance the Cities of the South, and those which procure salvation, shall mount vp to the hill of Sion, to iudge the mount of Esau, and the kingdome shall be the Lords.* Yet some of them doe not produce any sufficient testimony of the Ancients; nor pertinent reasons to proove that *Sapharad* (which *S. Ierome* doth interpret the *Bosphor* or *Straight*, and the 70. Interpreters *Euphrates*;) should signifie *Spaine*, but their onely opinion. Others alleage the *Caldean Paraphrase*, which is of this opinion, and the ancient *Rabbins*, which expound it on this sort; as also that *Zarphat* is *France*, (which the vulgar and the 70. Interpreters call *Sarepte*.) But leaving this dispute, which belongs to men of more leisure; what necessitie

necessitie is there to beleewe, that the citties of the South or of *Mageb* (as the 70. write) be those of this new world: Moreover, what need is there to beleewe and to take the Spanish Nation for the transmigration from *Ierusalem* to *Sapharad*, vnlesse we will vnderstand *Ierusalem* Spiritually, and thereby the Church: So as by the transmigration from *Ierusalem* to *Sapharad*, the holy spirite shewes vs the children of the holy Church, which inhabit the ends of the earth, & the banks of the Sea, for so is *Sapharad* vnderstood in the *Syrian* tongue, and doth well agree with our *Spaine*, which according to the Ancients is the ende of the earth, being in a manner all inuironed with Sea. And by the Citties of the South, we may well vnderstand these Indies, seeing the greatest parte of this newe worlde is seated in the South; and the better part looks to the Pole Antartike. That which followeth is easie to interpret, viz. *They which procure Salvation, shall ascend the hill of Zion, to iudge the mount of Esau*. For wee may say, they vnite themselves to the doctrine and strength of the holy Church, which seeke to breake and disperse the prophane errors of the Gentiles, for that may be interpreted to iudge the mount of *Esau*: whereby it followes, that in those daies the Realme shall neyther bee for the Spaniards, nor for them of *Europe*, but for Iesus Christ our Saviour. Whosoever shall expound the Prophecie of *Abdias* in this sort, ought not to be blamed; being most certaine, that the holy Spirit did vnderstand all secrets long before. And it seemes there is great reason to beleewe, that mention is made in the holy Scripture of a matter of such importance, as the discouerie of the Indies, of the new world, and their conuersion to the faith. *Isay* saith in these wordes; *Oh the*

E wings

lands. Besides these two meanes, I see it is not possible to find out any other, if wee will follow the course of humane things, and not devise fabulous and poetickall fictions; for no man may thinke to finde another Eagle as that of *Ganimede*, or a flying Horse, like vnto *Perseus*, that should carie the Indians through the aire; or that peradventure these first men haue vsed fishes, as *Mirmaides*, or the fish called a *Nicholas*, to passe them thither. But laying aside these imaginations and fopperies, let vs examine these two meanes, the which will bee both pleasant and profitable. First in my iudgement, it were not farre from reason to say, that the first and auncient people of these Indies, haue discovered and peopled after the same sort as wee do at this day, that is, by the Arte of Navigation and aide of Pilots, the which guide themselves by the heighth and knowledge of the heavens, and by their industrie in handling and changing of their sailes according to the season. Why might not this well be? Must we belceve, that we alone, and in this our age, haue onely the Arte and knowledge to saile through the Ocean? Wee see even now, that they cut through the Ocean to discover new lands, as not long since *Alvaro Mendana* and his companions did, who parting from the Port of *Lima*, came alongst the West, to discover the land which lieth Eastward from *Peru*; and at the end of three moneths, they discovered the Ilands, which they call the Ilands of *Salomon*, which are many and very great, and by all likelihood, they lie adioyning to new *Guinnie*, or else are very neere to some other firme land. And even now by commandement from the King and his Counsell, they are resolved to prepare a new flecte for these Ilands. Seeing it is thus, why may we not suppose, that the Ancients had the courage

courage and resolution to travell by sea, with the same intent to discover the land which they call *Antichon* opposite to theirs, and that (according to the discourse of their Philosophie) it should be with an intent, not to rest untill they came in view of the landes they sought: Surely there is no repugnancie or contrarietie in that which wee see happen at this day, and that of former ages, seeing that the holy scripture doth witnes, that *Solomon* tooke Masters and Pilots from *Tyre* and *Sidon*, men very expert in Navigation, who by their industry performed this voiage in three yeeres. To what end thinke you doth it note the Arte of Mariners, and their knowledge, with their long voiage of three yeeres, but to give vs to vnderstand, that *Solomons* fleet sailed through the great Ocean: Many are of this opinion, which thinke that *S. Augustine* had small reason to wonder at the greatnes of the Ocean, who might well coniecture, that it was not so difficult to saile through, considering what hath been spoken of *Solomons* Navigation. But to say the truth, I am of a contrary opinion, neither can I perswade my selfe, that the first Indians came to this new world; of purpose, by a determined voiage; neither will I yeeld, that the Ancients had knowledge in the Art of Navigation, whereby men at this day passe the Ocean, from one part to another, where they please, the which they performe with an incredible swiftnes and resolution; neither do I finde in all Antiquities, any markes or testimonies of so notable a thing, and of so great importance. Besides, I finde not, that in ancient bookes there is any mention made of the vse of the Adamant or Loadstone, nor of the Compasse to saile by: yea, I beleeve they had no knowledge thereof. And if we take away

The knowledge of the compasse to faile by, we shall easily iudge how impossible it was for them to passe the great Ocean. Such as haue any knowledge of the sea, vnderstand me well: for that it is as easie to beleeeve that a Mariner in full sea can direct his course where hee please, without a compasse, as for a blinde man to shew with his finger any thing, be it neere or farre off. And it is strange, that the Ancients haue bene so long ignorant of this excellent propertie of the Adamant stone: for *Plinie*, who was so curious in naturall causes, writing of this Adamant stone, speakes nothing of that vertue and propertie it hath, alwaies to turne the iron which it toucheth towards the North: the which is the most admirable vertue it hath: *Aristotle*, *Theophrastus*, *Dioscorides*, *Lucretius*, nor any other Writers, or naturall Philosophers, that I haue seene, make any mention thereof, although they treat of the Adamant stone. Saint *Augustine* writing many and sundry properties and excellencies of the Adamant stone, in his bookes of the Citie of God, speakes nothing thereof. And without doubt, all the excellencies spoken of this stone, are nothing in respect of this strange propertie, looking alwaies towards the North, which is a great wonder of nature. There is yet another argument, for *Plinie* treating of the first inventors of Navigation, and naming all the instruments, yet he speakes nothing of the compasse to faile by, nor of the Adamant stone. I say onely, that the art to know the starres, was invented by the *Phaniciens*. And there is no doubt, but whatsoever the Ancients knew of the Art of Navigation, was onely in regard of the starres, and observing the Shoares, Capes, and differences of landes. And if they had once lost the sight of land, they knew not

Plin. lib. 3. ca. 6
and lib. 34. cap.
1. 14. and lib.
7. cap. 4.

Dios. lib. 5. cap.
10.
Lucret. lib. 6.

Aug. de Cuit.
D. i. cap. 4. vbi
multa de mag-
nate.

Plin. lib. 7. c. 16

not which way to direct their course, but by the Stars
 Sunne, and Moone: and that sailing (as it doth often,
 in a darke and cloudie season,) they did governe them-
 selves by the qualitie of the winds, and by coniec-
 ture of the waies which they had passed. Finally they
 went as they were guided by their owne motions. As at
 the *Indies*, the Indians saile a long way by sea, guided
 only by their owne industrie & naturall instinct. And it
 serues greatly to purpose, that which *Plinie* writes of
 the Ilanders of *Taprobana*, (which at this day, we call
Sumatra.) speaking in this sort, when as he treates of
 the art and industrie they vse in sailing. *Those of Ta-
 probana see not the North to saile by: which defect they sup-
 ply with certaine small birdes they carrie with them, the
 which they often let flie, and as these birdes by a naturall in-
 stinct flie alwaies towards the land, so the Mariners direct
 their course after them.* Who doubteth then, if they had
 had any knowledge of the compasse, they would
 not have vsed these little birdes for their guides, to
 discover the Land. To conclude, this sufficeth to
 shew that the Ancients had no knowledge of the
 secrets of the Loadstone: seeing that for so notable a
 thing, there is no proper word in Latine, Greeke, or
 Hebrew: for a thing of such importance, could not
 have wanted a name in these tongues, if they had
 knowne it. Wherevpon the Pilots at this day to di-
 rect him his course that holds the helme, sit aloft in the
 poope of the Shippe, the better to obserue the com-
 passe: where as in olde time, they sat in the prow of
 the Shippe, to marke the differences of lands and seas,
 from which place, they commaunded the Helme:
 as they vse at this day, at the entrie or going out
 of any Port or haven: and therefore the Greekes

called *Pilots Proritaes*, for that they remained still in the prow.

Of the properties and admirable vertue of the Adamant stone for Navigation, whereof the Ancients had no knowledge. CHAP. 17.

BY that which hath been formerly spoken, it appeares, that the Navigation to the Indies, is as certaine, and as short, as wee are assured of the Adamant stone. And at this day, we see many that have sailed from *Lisbone*, to *Goa*, from *Siville* to *Mexico*, and through all the South sea, even vnto *China*, and to the straight of *Maggellan*, and that as certainly, & as easily, as the Husbandman goeth from his Farme vnto the Citie. We have also seene men that have made fifteene, yea, eighteene voiajes to the Indies, and we have heard speake of some Ancients, which have made above twentie voyages, passing, and repassing the great Ocean, in the which they have not seene any signes of such as have travelled, nor met with any passengers to demand the way of them. For as the Wise man saith, a ship cutteth the waves of the water, leaving no way where it passeth, nor any path in the fouds. But by the vertue and property of the Adamant stone, it makes as it were a beaten path in this Ocean. The high Creator of all things, having imparted this vertue vnto it; that by the touch of iron, it hath alwaies his motion and aspect towards the North, in what part of the world soever you be. Some search what should be the cause of this wonderfull property, and imagine I know not what sympathie. But for my part, I take more pleasure and content in the

Historie of the Indies. lib. 1. 57

the considerations of these wonders, to praise the power and greatnes of the Almighty, and reioyce in the contemplation of his admirable workes, and to say with Solomon, speaking vpon this subiect, *O father whose* *Sap. 14.*
providence governes and maintaines a peece of wood, giving it an assured way vpon the sea, and in the midst of the swelling waves, to shew, that in the like sort, thou canst save and deliver man from all perill and shipwracke; yea, although he were in the midst of the sea without shippe. But for that thy workes are full of wisdom, men haue their liues in a small peece of wood, and passe through the sea in a shippe; and are saved. And vpon the same subiect the Psalmist saith, *They which go to the sea in shippes, and trafficke by the great waters, haue seene the workes of the Lord, and his wonders in the depth of the sea.* *Psal. 105.* And in truth, it is not one of the least wonders of God; that the force of so small a stone should command the sea, and force the infinite depth thereof to obey him; and follow his commandement. But for that it is an visuall thing, and seemes easie, men do not admire it, nor take any great regard thereof; and for that his bountie is such, the ignorant make lesse account thereof. Notwithstanding, such as will duly consider it, are led by reason, to blesse the wisdom of God; and to give him thanks for so great a benefite. Being then decreed in heaven, that these nations of the *Indies*, which have lyen so long hidden, should bee knowne and discovered; and that this rowt should be frequented, to the end so many soules should come to the knowledge of Iesus Christ, and winne eternall life. There was an assured guide provided for such as travell that way, that is, the Compass to saile by, and the vertue of the Adamant stone. Wee doe not certainly know at what time this Art of sailing was brought to light.

light. But for my part, I hold for certaine, that it is not verie ancient; for besides the reasons alleadged in the former chapter, I have not read in any ancient Author, treating of dialles, any mention made of the Adamant. And yet vndoubtedly, the principall and most necessarie instrument for sunne dialls, which we vse at this day, is the needle of iron touched with the Adamant stone. Some approved Authors write in the Historie of the East *Indies*, that the first which began to discover this secret vpon the sea, was *Vascor de Gama*, who in the heighth of *Mosambique*, met with certaine Mariners Moores, which vsed this compasse or needle to saile by, and by the meanes thereof, he sailed through those seas: yet they write not from whom they learned this Art. And some amongst them are of our opinion, that the Ancients were ignorant of this secret. Moreover, I will shew a greater wonder of the needle to saile by, which we might hold incredible, if we had not prooffe thereof by vndoubted experience. The iron touched or rubbed with that part of the Adamant stone which is towards the South, hath this vertue, to turne alwaies and in all places to the contrarie, which is the North. Yet doth it not in all places directly regard it, but hath certaine points and climats, where it directly regards the North, and their staies: but changing this climate, it inclines a little, either to the East, or to the West, the farther it goes from this climat, which the Mariners cal North-east, or North-west, which is to say, coasting or inclining to the East, or to the West. And it is a thing of such consequence, to vnderstand this declining or coasting of the needle, that if they observe it not advisedly (although it bee small,) they shall stray wonderfully in their course, and arrive in another

Lib. 1. de Ital.

illustr. regni. 15

Plin. lib. 2. cap.

71. & lib. 7. ca.

vt.

Ozior. de reb.

gest. Eman. di. 1

another place then where they pretended to go. Once a very expert Pilot of *Portugal* told mee, that there were foure poyntes in all the world, whereas the needle looked directly towards the North, the which hee named, but I do not well remember them. One is in the height of the Iland of *Corvo* at the *Terceres* or *Acores*, which is very well knowne to all men : but passing to a greater altitude, it declines to the West : and contrariwise, drawing to a lesse altitude, towards the Equinoctiall, it leanes to the East. The masters of this Arte can well tell how farre and how much. For my part, I would gladly know, of such as presume to knowe all thinges, what should bee the cause of this effect, and for what reason, a little yron touched with the Adamant stone, receyves such vertue, as to looke alwayes towards the North, and with such dexteritie, that it vnderstandeth the sundry Clymates and scituations of the world, and which way it should turne and incline, as well as any Philosopher or Cosinographer whatsoever. And seeing wee cannot well discover the causes and reasons of these thinges which wee see dayly, without doubt they were very hard to beleewe, if they were not apparent. Herein we discover our follie & vanitie, to make our selves iudges, & to subiect divine & high thinges to our reason & discourse. It is therefore better, as *S. Gregorie* the divine sayth, to subiect reason vnto faith, for that in her owne mansion she hath no government. But this shall suffice. Let vs returne to our purpose, and conclude, that the vse of the needle to sayle by, was vnknowne to the Ancients: whereby we may resolve, that it was impossible to make a determined voyage, parting from the other world, to come to this by the Ocean.

Wherein

Wherein an answer is made to them that say, that in
times passed they have sayled through the Ocean,
as at this day. CHAP. 18.

THAT which is alleaged to the contrary of that
which hath beene spoken, that *Salomons* Fleet say-
led in three yeeres; is no sufficient prooffe, seeing the
holy Scripture doth not directly affirme, that this voy-
age continued three yeeres, but that it was made once
in three yeeres. And although wee graunt, that the
voyage lasted three yeeres, it might bee, as it is likely,
that this Fleet sayling towards the East *Indies*, was stay-
ed in their course, by the diversitie of Ports and Regi-
ons, which they discovered: as at this day, in all the
South Sea, they sayle from *Chile* to newe *Spaine*, the
which voyage, although it bee more certaine, yet is it
longer; by reason of the turnings they are forced to
make vpon the Coast, and they stay in divers Portes.
And in trueth, I doe not finde in ancient bookes, that
they have lanced farre into the Ocean, neyther can I
beleeeve; that this their sayling was otherwise then
they vse at this day in the Mediterranean Sea: which
makes learned men to coniecture, that in old time they
did not sayle without Owers; for that they went al-
wayes coasting along the shoare: and it seemes the ho-
ly Scripture doth testifie as much, speaking of that fa-
mous voyage of the Prophet *Jonas*: where it sayes, that
the Marriners being forced by the weather, rowed to
land.

That

That we may coniecture, how the first Inhabitants of the Indies came thither by force of weather, and not willingly. CHAP. 19.

HAVING shewed, that there is no reason to beleeve, that the first Inhabitants of the *Indies* came thither purposely; it followeth then, that if they came by Sea, it was by chance, or by force of weather, the which is not incredible, notwithstanding the vastnesse of the Ocean, seeing the like hath happened in our time, when as that Marriner, (whose name we are yet ignorant of) (to the end so great a worke, and of such importance, should not be attributed to any other Author then to God) having (through tempest discovered this new world,) left for payment of his lodging, where he had received it, to *Christopher Columbus*, the knowledge of so great a secret. Even so it might chance, that some of *Europe* or *Affricke* in times past, have bin driven by foule weather, and cast vpon vnknowne lands beyond the Ocean. Who knoweth not, that most, or the greatest part of the Regions in this newe world, were discovered by this meanes; the which we must rather attribute to the violence of the weather, then to the spirit and industrie of those which have discovered. And to the end we may know, that it is not in our time onely, that they have vndertaken such voyages, through the greatnesse of our shippes, and the valour and courage of our men: we may reade in *Plinie*, that many of the Ancients have made the like voyages, he writes in this manner: *It is reported that Caius Cæsar, sonne to Augustus Cæsar, having charge vpon the Arabian Sea, did there see and finde certaine pieces and remainders*

Plin. li. 24. 69.

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mainders of Spanish shippes that had perished. And after he saith: *Nepos* reportes of the Northerne circuite, that they brought to *Quintus Metellus* *Caler* companion in the Consullship to *Caius Affranius* (the same *Metellus* being then *Proconsull* in *Gaule*) certaine *Indians* which had bene presented by the King of *Sueden*: the which *Indians*, sailing from *India*, for their trafficke, were cast vpon *Germanie* by force of tempest. Doubtles, if *Plinie* speaketh truth, the Portugales in these daies, saile no further then they did in those two shipwrackes, the one from *Spaine* to the red Sea, the other from the East *Indies* to *Germanie*. The same Author writes in another place, that a servant of *Annius Plocanius*, who farmed the customes of the red Sea, sailing the course of *Arabia*, there came so furious a Northerne wind, that in fifteene daies he passed *Caramania*, and discovered *Hippares*, a port in *Taprobane*, which at this day we call *Sumatra*. And they report of a shippe of *Carthage*, which was driven out of the *Mediterranean Sea*, by a Northerne wind, to the view of this new world. The which is no strange thing to such as have any knowledge of the sea, to know that sometimes a storme continues long & furious, without any intermission. I my selfe, going to the *Indies*, parting from the *Canaries*, have in fifteene daies, discovered the first land peopled by the Spaniards. And without doubt, this voiage had been shorter, if the Mariners had set vp all their sailes to the Northerne winds that blew. It seemes therefore likely to me, that in times past, men came to the *Indies* against their wills, driven by the furie of the winds. In *Pern*, they make great mention of certaine Giants, which have been in those parts, whose bones are yet seene at *Mania*, and *Port Vieil*, of a huge greatnes, and by their proportion, they

Plin. lib 6. c. 22

they should be thrice as big as the Indians. At this day they report that the Giants came by sea, to make warre with those of the Countrie, and that they made goodly buildings, whereof at this day they shew a well, built with stones of great price. They say moreover, that these men committing abhominable sinnes, especially against nature, were consumed by fire from heaven. In like sort the Indians report of *Tca*, and *Arica*, that in old time they were wont to saile farre to the Ilands of the West, and made their voiajes in Seales skinnnes blowne vp. So as there wants no witness, to prove that they sailed in the South sea, before the Spaniards came thither. Thus we may well coniecture, that the new world began to be inhabited, by men that have been cast vpon that coast by the violence of the Northerne winds, as wee have seene in our age. So it is, (being a matter verie considerable) that the workes of nature of greatest importance, for the most part, have been found out accidentally, and not by the industrie and diligence of man. The greatest part of phisicall hearbes, of Stones, Plants, Mettalls, Perle, gold, Adamant, Amber, Diamont, and the most part of such like things, with their properties and vertues, have rather come to the knowledge of man by chance, then by art or industrie, to the end wee may know, that the glorie & praise of such wonders, should be attributed to the providence of the Creator, and not to mans vnderstanding: for that which we thinke to happen accidently, procedes alwaies from the ordinance and disposition of God, who does all things with reason.

Notwith-

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*Notwithstanding all that hath bene said, it is more likely
that the first inhabitants of the Indies, came by land.*

C H A P. 20.

I Conclude then, that it is likely the first that came to the *Indies*, was by shipwracke and tempest of weather, but heerevpon groweth a difficultie, which troubleth me much. For, suppose wee grant that the first men came from farre Countries, and that the nations which we now see, are issued from them, and multiplied; yet can I not coniecture, by what meanes brute beastes (whereof there is great aboundance) could come there, not being likely, they should have bin imbarcked and carried by sea. The reason that inforceth vs to yeeld, that the first men of the *Indies* are come from Europe, or *Asia*, is the testimonie of the holy scripture, which teacheth vs plainly, that all men came from *Adam*. We can therefore give no other beginning to those at the *Indies*, seeing the holy scripture saith, that all beastes and creatures of the earth perished, but such as were reserved in the Arke of *Noe*, for the multiplication and maintenance of their kinde: so as we must necessarily referre the multiplication of all beastes to those which came out of the Arke of *Noe*, on the mountaines of *Ararat*, where it staid. And by this meanes, we must seeke out both for men and beastes, the way whereby they might passe from the old world to this new. *Saint Augustine*, treating vpon this question, by what reason you shall finde in some Ilandes, Wolves, Tigers, and other ravenous beastes, which breede no profit to men, seeing there is no doubt, but Elephants, Horses, Oxen, Dogges, and other beastes which

Gen. 7.

Aug. lib. 6. d.
Civ. cap. 7.

which serve man to use, have been expressly carried in shippes, as we see at this day brought from the East into *Europe*, and transported from *Europe*, to *Peru*, although the voiaiges be verie long. And by what means these beastes which yeeld no profit, but are very hurtfull (as Wolves, and others of that wilde nature) should passe to the *Indies*, supposing, as it is certaine, that the deluge drowned all the earth. In which Treatie, this learned & holy man laboures to free himselfe of these difficulties, saying that they might swim vnto these Ilands, or that some have carried them thither for their delight in hunting: or that, by the will of God, they had been newly created of the earth, after the same maner of the first creation, when God said, *Let the earth bring forth* Gen. 1. *everye living thing according to his kinde, Cattle, and creeping Wormes, and the beastes of the field, every one in his kinde.* But if we shall apply this solution to our purpose, the matter will remaine more doubtfull: for beginning at the last point, it is not likely, according to the order of Nature, nor conformable to the order of government established by God, that perfect creatures, as Lions, Tigers, and Wolves, should be engendered of the earth, as we see that Rattes, Frogges, Bees, and other imperfect creatures, are commonly engendered. Moreover, to what purpose is that which the scripture saith, and doth so often repeate, *Thou shalt take of all the beastes* Gen. 7. *and birdes of the aire, seven, and seven, male and female, to maintaine generation upon earth;* if such beastes after the deluge, should be created againe after a new kinde of creation, without coniunction of male and female? And heerevpon might grow another question: Seeing such creatures are breeding on the earth (according to this opinion) wherefore are they not likewise in

all other partes of the maine Land, and in many Ilandes, seeing wee must not regarde the naturall order of generation, but the bountie of the Creator. On the other part, I will not hold it for a thing incredible, that they have carried some of these beastes for the pleasure of hunting: for that we often see, Princes and great men keepe and nourish in their cages, (onely for their pleasure and greatnesse) both Lyons, Beares, and other savage beastes, especially when they are brought from farre Countries: but to speake that of Woolves, Foxes and other beasts which yeeld no profite, and have nothing rare and excellent in them, but to hurt the cattell; and to say also that they have carried them by sea for hunting, truely it is a thing that hath no sense. Who can imagine, that in so long a voyage, men would take the paynes to carrie Foxes to *Peru*, especially of that kind which they call *Anas*, which is the filthiest that I have seene. Who would likewise say, that the have carried Tygers and Lyons? Truely it were a thing worthy the laughing at, to thinke so. It was sufficient, (yea, very much) for men, driven against their willes by tempest, in so long and vnknowne a voyage, to escape the danger of the Sea with theyr owne lives, without busying themselves to carrie Woolves and Foxes, and to nourish them at Sea. If these beasts then came by Sea, wee must beleieve it was by swimming, which may happen in some Ilands not farre distant from others, or from the mayne Land; the which wee cannot denie, seeing the experience wee have, and that wee see these beasts, beeing prest to swimme day and night without wearinesse, and so to escape. But this is to be vnderstood in smal Straights and passages: for in our Ocean, they would mocke at such swimmers.

mers, whenas birds faile in their flight, yea, those of the greatest wing, vpon the passage of so great a Gulph. And although we finde small birdes, which flie above a hundred leagues, as we have often seene in our travel, yet it is a matter impossible, at the least very difficult, for birdes to passe all the Ocean. All this beeing true which wee have spoken, what way shall wee make for beastes and birdes to goe to the *Indies*? and how can I say, they passed from one worlde to an other? I coniecture then, by the discourse I have made, that the new world, which we call *Indies*, is not altogether severed and disioyned from the other world: and to speake my opinion, I have long beleaved, that the one and the other world are ioyned and continued one with an other in some part, or at the least, are very neere. And yet to this day, there is no certaine knowledge of the contrary. For towards the Articke or Northerne Pole, all the longitude of the earth is not discovered, and many hold, that above *Florida*, the Land runnes out very large towards the North, and as they say, ioynes with the *Scithike* or *Germane* Sea. Others affirme, that a Ship sayling in that Sea, reported to have seene the coast of *Bacalaos*, which stretcheth almost to the confines of *Europe*. Moreover, no man knowes how farre the land runnes beyond the Cape of *Mendoça* in the South sea, but that they affirme it is a great Continent, which runnes an infinite length: and returning to the Southerne Pole, no man knowes the lands on the other part of the Straight of *Magellan*. A ship belonging to the Bishoppe of *Plaisance*, which passed the Straight, reports to have sayled alwayes within sight of Land: the like *Hernando Lamer* a Pilot doth affirme, who (forced by foule weather) passed two or three de-

grees above the sayd Straight. So as there is no reason or experience, that doth contradict my conceit and opinion; which is, that the whole earth is vnited & ioyned in some part, or at the least, the one approacheth neere vnto the other. If this be true, (as in effect there is some likelyhood,) the answere is easie to the doubt we have propounded, how the first Inhabitants could passe to the *Indies*: For that wee must beleeve they could not so conveniently come thither by Sea, as travelling by Land; which might be done without consideration, in changing by little and little their lands and habitations. Some peopling the lands they found, and others seeking for newe; in time they came to inhabite and people the *Indies*, with so many nations, people, and tongues as we see.

By what meanes tame Beasts passed to the Indies.

CHAP. 21.

THE signes and arguments, which offer themselves to such as are curious to examine the *Indians* manners and fashions, helpe much to maintayne the foresayd opinion: for that you shall not finde any inhabiting the Ilands that are farre from the maine Land, or from other Ilands, as the *Bermudes*, the reason whereof is, for that the Ancients did never sayle but alongst the coast, and in view of land: whereupon it is reported, that they have found no great Ships in any part of the *Indies*, capable to passe such Gulphs, but onely *Balsaes*, *Barkes* and *Canoes*, which are all lesse then our long boates, the which the *Indians* doe onely vse, with the which they could not runne through so great a Passage,

sage, without apparant danger of ship-wrack: and although their shippes had beene sufficient, yet had they no knowledge of the Astrolabe or Compasse. If then they had beene but eight or tenne dayes at Sea without sight of land, they must of necessitie loose themselves, having no knowledge where they were: wee know many Ilandes well peopled with *Indians*, and their vsuall navigations, the which was such, as they may well performe in Canoes and boats, without any Compasse to sayle by. Whenas the *Indians* of *Peru*, which remayne at *Tombes*, did see our first Spanish shippes sayling to *Peru*, and viewed the greatnesse of their sailes, being spread, and of the bodies of the ships; they stood greatly amazed, not beeing able to perswade themselves that they were shippes, having never seene any of the like forme and greatnesse, they supposed they had beene rockes. But seeing them advance, and not to sincke, they stood transported with amazement, vntill that beholding them neerer, they discovered men with beards that walked in them, whom then they held for some gods or heavenly creatures. Whereby it appears, how strange it was to the *Indians* to have great Ships. There is yet an other reason, which confirms vs in the foresayd opinion, which is, that these beastes (which we say are not likely to have been transported by Sea to the *Indies*,) remayne onely on the maine Land, and not in any Ilands, foure dayes iorney from the maine Land. I have made this search for prooffe thereof, for that it seemes to me a point of great importance, to confirme me in mine opinion, that the confines of the *Indies*, *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Affricke* have some communication one with another, or at the least, approach very neere together. There are in *America*

and *Peru* many wilde beastes, as Lyons: (although they be not like in greatnesse, fierceneesse, nor of the same colour redde, to the renowned Lyons of *Africa*.) There are also many Tygers, very cruell, and more to the *Indians* then to the *Spaniards*: there are likewise Beares, but in no great abundance: of Boares and Foxes an infinite number. And yet if wee shall seeke for all these kindes of beastes in the Ilands of *Cuba*, *Hispaniola*, *Jamaica*, *Marguerita*, or *Dominica*, you shall not finde any. So as in the sayde Ilands, although they were very fertile, and of a great circuit, yet was there not any kind of beastes for service when the *Spaniards* arrived, but at this day there are so great troopes of Horses, Oxen, Kyne, Dogs and Hogges, which have multiplied in such abundance, as now the Kine have no certaine master, but belong to him that shal first kill them, be it on the mountaines or on the plaines, which the *Indians* do, onely to save their hides, whereof they make great traffick, without any regard of the flesh to eate it. Dogges have so increased, as they march by troopes, and endamage the cattell no lesse then wolves, which is a great inconvenience in these Ilands. There wants not onely beastes in these Ilands, but also birdes both great and small. As for Parrets, there are many that flie by flockes, but (as I have said,) there are few of any other kinde. I have not seene, nor heard of any Partridges there, as in *Peru*. Likewise, there are few of those beastes, which at *Peru* they call *Guanacos*, and *Vicunas*, like to wilde Goates, very swifte, in whose stomacke they find the Beezars stone, which many do greatly value: sometimes you shall finde them as bigge as a hens egge, yea, halfe as bigge againe. They have no other kinde of beastes, but such as we call Indian sheepe,

sheepe, the which (besides their wooll and flesh (where with they clothe and feede themselves,) do serve them as Asses to beare their burthens. They carrie halfe as much as a Moyle, and are of small charge to their masters, having neede, neither of shooes, saddle, nor oates to live by, nor of any furniture, for that Nature hath provided them of all these, wherein she seemes to have favoured these poore Indians. Of all these creatures, and of many other sortes, whereof I will make mention, the maine land at the *Indies* aboundes. But in the Ilands, there are not any found, but such as the Spaniards have brought. It is true, that once one of our Friars did see a Tigre in an Iland, as hee reported vnto vs vpon the discourse of his peregrination and shipwracke; but being demanded how farre it was from the maine land, he answered, sixe or eight leagues at the most; which passage, Tigres might easily swimme over. We may easily inferre by these arguments, and others like, that the first Indians went to inhabite the *Indies*, more by land then by sea; or if there were any navigation, it was neither great, nor difficult, being an indibitable thing, that the one world is continued and ioyned with the other, or at the least, they approach one neere vnto another in some parts.

That the linage of the Indies, hath not passed by the Atlantike Iland, as some do imagine. CHAP. 22.

SOME (following *Platoes* opinion mentioned before,) affirme, that these men parted from *Europe*, or *Affricke*, to go to that famous and renowned *Atlantike Iland*, and so passed from one Iland vnto another,

Say. cap. 12.

ther, vntill they came to the maine land of the *Indies*: for that *Critias* of *Plato* in his time discourseth in this maner: if the *Atlantike* Iland were as great as all *Asia*, and *Affrike* together, or greater, as *Plato* saies, it should of necessitie containe all the *Atlantike* Ocean, and stretch even vnto the Ilands of the new world. And *Plato* saith moreo^{er}, that by a great and strange deluge, the *Atlantike* Iland was drowned, and by that meanes the sea was made vnnavigable, through the aboundance of banckes, rockes, and roughnesse of the waves, which were yet in his time. But in the end, the ruines of this drowned Iland were setled, which made this sea navigable. This hath been curiously handled and discoursed of by some learned men of good iudgement; and yet (to speake the truth) being well considered, they are ridiculous things, resembling rather to *Ovids* tales, then a Historie or Philosophie, worthy of accoumpt. The greatest part of *Platoes* Interpreters, affirme, that it is a true Historie, whatsoever *Critias* reports of the strange beginning of the *Atlantike* Iland, of the greatnes thereof, of the warres they had against them of *Europe*, with many other things. That which gives it the more credite of a true Historie, be the wordes of *Critias*, (whom *Plato* brings in in his time,) saying, that the subiect he meanes to treat of, is of strange things, but yet true. The other disciples of *Plato*, considering that this discourse hath more shew of a fable, then of a true Historie, say, that we must take it as an allegorie, and that such was the intention of their diuine Philosopher. Of this opinion is *Procles*, and *Porphire*, yea, and *Origene*, who so much regards the writings of *Plato*, as when they speake thereof, they seeme to bee the bookes of *Moses*, or of *Esdras*: and whereas

whereas they thinke the writings of *Plato* have no shew of truth, they say, they are to be vnderstood mystically, and in allegories. But to say the truth, I do not so much respect the authoritie of *Plato*, (whom they call Di- vine,) as I wil beleeeve he could write these things of the *Atlantike* Iland for a true Historie, the which are but meere fables, seeing hee confesseth that hee learned them of *Critias*, being a little childe, who (among other songs,) sung that of the *Atlantike* Iland. But whether that *Plato* did write it for a true Historie, or a fable, for my part, I beleeeve that all which he hath written of this Iland, beginning at the Dialogue of Time, and continuing to that of *Critias*, cannot be held for true, but among children and old folkes. Who will not account it a fable, to say that *Neptune* fell in love with *Clite*, and had of her five paire of twinnes at one birth. And that out of one mountaine, hee drew three round balles of water, and two of earth, which did so well resemble, as you would have iudged them all one bow- ell. What shall wee say moreover of that Temple of a thousand pace long, and five hundred broade, whose walles without were all covered with silver, the feeling of gold, and within ivorie, indented and inlaied with gold, silver, and pearle. In the end, speaking of the ruine thereof, he concludes thus in his time, *In one day, and one night, came a great deluge, whereby all our souldiers were swallowed by heapes within the earth, and in this sort the Atlantike Iland being drowned, it vanished in the Sea.* Without doubt it fell out happily, that this Iland vanished so suddenly, seeing it was bigger then *Asia* and *Affrike*: and that it was made by enchantment. It is in like sort all one to say, that the ruines of this so great an Iland, are seene in the bottome of the sea, and that the

the Mariners which see them, cannot faile that way. Then he addes, *For this cause vnto this day, that Sea is not navigable, by reason of the bancke which by little & little is growne in that drowned land.* I would willingly demand what Sea could swallow vp so infinite a continent of land, greater then *Asia* and *Affrike*, whose confines stretched vnto the *Indies*, and to swallow it vp in such sort, as there should at this day remaine no signes nor markes thereof, whatsoever: seeing it is well knowne by experience, that the Mariners finde no bottome in the Sea, where they say this Iland was. Notwithstanding, it may seeme indiscreete and farre from reason, to dispute seriously of those things which are reported at pleasure, or if we shall give that respect to the authoritie of *Plato* (as it is reason,) we must rather vnderstand them to signifie simply, (as in a picture) the prosperitie of a Citie, and withall, the ruine thereof. For the argument they make, to prove that this *Atlantike* Iland, hath bene really and indeede, saying that the sea in those parts, doth at this day beare the name of *Atlantike*, is of small importance, for that wee knowe Mount *Atlas*, whereof *Plinie* sayes this sea tooke the name, is vpon the confines of the Mediterranean Sea. And the same *Plinie* reportes, that ioyning to the said Mount, there is an Iland called *Atlantike*, which he reportes to be litle, and of small accompt:

Plin. lib. 5. cap. 1. & lib. 6. c. 31

That the opinion of many which holde, that the first race of the Indians comes from the Iewes, is not true. CHAP. 23.

NOW that wee have shewed how vnlikely it is, that the first *Indians* passed to the *Indies* by the *Atlantike*

like Iland, there are others holde opinion, that they tooke the way, whereof *Esdra*s speakes in his fourth booke, in this manner: *And whereas thou sawest that he gathered an other peaceable troope vnto him, thou shalt know, those are the ten tribes, which were caried away captiues out of their own land, in the time of king Ozeas, whom Salmanazar king of the Assyrians tooke captiues, and ledde them beyond the river, so were they brought into an other land: but they tooke this counsell to themselves, to leave the multitude of the heathen, and go forth into a farther countrie, where neuer mankind dwelt, that they might there observe their statutes, which they could not keepe in their owne land: and they entred by the narrow passages of the river Euphrates, for then God shewed his wonders, and stayed the springs of the flood, vntill they were passed over: for the way vnto that Countrie is very long, yea, of a yeere and a halfe, and this Region is called Arfareth, then dwelt they there vntill the latter time, and when they come forth againe, the most Mightie shall hold still the springs of the river againe, that they may goe through; for this cause sawest thou this multitude peaceable.* Some will apply this text of *Esdra*s to the Indies, saying, they were guided by God, whereas neuer mankinde dwelt, and that the land where they dwelt, is so faire off, as it requires a yeere and a halfe to performe the voyage, beeing by nature very peaceable. And that there are great signes and arguments amongst the common sort of the *Indians*, to breed a beleefe, that they are descended from the *Jewes*: for commonly you shall see them fearefull, submisfe, ceremonious and subtrill in lying. And moreover they say, their habites are like vnto those the *Jewes* vsed; for they weare a short coat or waste-coat, and a cloake imbroidered all about; they goe bare-footed, or with soles tied

tied with latches over the foot, which they call *Oiotas*. And they say, that it appeares by their Histories, as also by their ancient pictures, which represent them in this fashion, that this attire was the ancient habite of the Hebrewes, and that these two kinds of garments, which the *Indians* onely vse, were vsed by *Samson*, which the Scripture calleth *Tunicam*, and *Sidonem*: beeing the same which the *Indians* terme waist-coat and cloake. But all these coniectures are light, and rather against them then with them; for wee know well, that the Hebrewes vsed letters, whereof there is no shew among the *Indians*; they were great lovers of silver, these make no care of it: the Iewes, if they were not circumcised, held not themselves for Iewes, and contrariwise the *Indians* are not at all, neyther did they ever vse any ceremonie neere it, as many in the East have done. But what reason of coniecture is there in this, seeing the Iewes are so careful to preserve their language and Antiquities, so as in all parts of the world they differ and are known from others, and yet at the *Indies* alone, they have forgotten their Linage, their Law, their Ceremonies, their *Messias*; and finally, their whole *Judaisme*. And whereas they say, the *Indians* are feareful cowards, superstitious, and subtil in lying; for the first, it is not common to all, there are some nations among the *Barbarians* free from these vices; there are some valiant and hardy, there are some blunt and dull of vnderstanding. As for ceremonies and superstitions, the Heathen have alwayes vsed them much; the manner of habites described which they vse, being the plainest and most simple in the world, without Arte, the which hath been common, not onely to the Hebrewes, but to all other Nations; seeing that the very History of *Esdra*s (if wee shall

shall beleeve the Scriptures that bee *Apocrypha*) make more against them then for their purpose: for hee saith in that place, that the ten tribes went from the multitude of the Heathen; to keepe their faith and ceremonies, and we see the *Indians* given to all the Idolatries in the world. And those which holde this opinion, see well if the entries of the River *Euphrates* stretch to the *Indies*, and whether it be necessary for the *Indies* to repasse that way, as it is written. Besides, I know not how you can name them peaceable, seeing they be alwaies in warre amongst themselves. To conclude, I cannot see how that *Euphrates* in *Esdras Apocrypha*, should be a more convenient passage to goe to the new world, then the enchanted & fabulous *Atlantike* Iland of *Plato*.

The reason why we can find no beginning of the Indians.

C H A P. 24.

IT is easier to refute and contradict the false opinions conceived of the Originall of the *Indians*, then to set downe a true and certaine resolution; for that there is no writing among the *Indians*; nor any certaine remembrances of their founders: neyther is there any mention made of this new world in their bookes that have knowledge of letters: our Ancients held, that in those parts, there were neyther men, land, nor haven. So as hee should seeme rash and presumptuous, that should thinke to discover the first beginning of the *Indians*. But we may iudge a farre off, by the former discourse, that these *Indians* came by little and little to this newe world, and that by the helpe and meanes of the neerenesse of lands, or by some navigation; the which

which seemes to mee the meanes whereby they came, and not that they prepared any armie to goe thither of purpose: neyther that they have been caried thither by any ship-wracke or tempest, although some of these things may chance in some part of the *Indies*: for these Regions beeing so great, as they containe Nations without number, we may beleeeve, that some came to inhabite after one sort, and some after an other. But in the ende I resolve vpon this point, that the true and principall cause to people the *Indies*, was, that the lands and limits thereof are ioyned and continued in some extremities of the world, or at the least, were very neere. And I beleeeve, it is not many thousand yeeres past, since men first inhabited this new world and West *Indies*, and that the first men that entred, were rather savage men and hunters, then bredde vp in civill and well governed Common-weales: and that they came to this new world, having lost their owne land, or being in too great numbers, they were forced of necessitie to seeke some other habitations; the which having found, they beganne by little and little to plant, having no other law, but some instinct of nature, and that very darke, and some customes remaining of their first Countries. And although they came from Countries well governed, yet is it not incredible to thinke, that they had forgotten all through the tract of time and want of vse, seeing that in *Spainne* and *Italie* we find companies of men, which have nothing but the shape and countenance onely, whereby we may coniecture in what sort this new world grew so barbarous and vncivill.

What

What the Indians report of their beginning.

CHAP. 25.

IT is no matter of any great importance , to know what the Indians themselves report of their beginning, being more like vnto dreames , then to true Histories. They make great mention of a deluge hapned in their Countrie : but we cannot well iudge if this deluge were vniverfall (whereof the scripture makes mention,) or some particular inundation of those regions where they are . Some expert men say , that in those Countries are many notable signes of some great inundation , and I am of their opinion which thinke that these markes and shewes of a deluge , was not that of *Noe* , but some other particular , as that which *Plato* speakes of, or *Deucalions* floud, which the Poets sing of: whatsoever it be, the *Indians* say, that al men were drowned in this deluge: and they report that out of the great Lake *Titicaca*, came one *Viracocha*, which staid in *Tiaguanaco*, where at this day there is to bee scene the ruines of ancient and very strange buildings , and from thence came to *Cusco* , and so began mankinde to multiply. They shew in the same Island a small Lake, where they saie that the sunne hid himselfe , and so was preserved , and for this reason they make great sacrifices vnto him in that place, both of sheepe and men. Others report, that sixe , or I know not what number of men, came out of a certaine cave by a window , by whome men first began to multiplie : and for this reason they call them *Pacaritampo*. And therefore they are of opinion, that the *Tambos* is the most ancient race of men. They say also, that *Mango Capa* , whom they acknowledge for the founder and chiefe of their *Inguas* , was
issued

issued of that race, and that from him sprang two families or linages, the one of *Havan Cusco*, the other of *Vrni Cusco*. They say moreover, that when the Kings *Inguas* attempted warre and conquered sundrie Provinces, they gave a colour and made a pretext of their enterprize, saying, that all the world ought to acknowledge them; for that all the world was renued by their race and Countrey: and also that the true religion had been reveiled to them from heaven. But what availeth it to speake more, seeing that all is full of lies and vanitie, and farre from reason? Some learned men write, that all which the Indians make mention of, is not above 400. yeeres old, and whatsoever they speake of former ages, is but a confusion full of obscuritie, wherein we find no truth. The which may not seeme strange, they having no vse of bookes, or writing; in steede whereof, they vse counting with their *Quipocamayes*, the which is peculiar vnto them. By which reckoning all they can report is not past 400. yeeres. Instructing my selfe carefully of them, to know from what land, and what nation they passed; to that where they now live, I have found them so farre vnable to give any reason thereof, as they beleieve confidently, that they were created at their first beginning at this new world, where they now dwell. But we have freed them of this error by our faith, which teacheth vs, that all men came from the first man. There are great and apparant coniectures, that these men for a long time, had neither Kings nor common weales, but lived in troupes, as they do at this day in *Florida*, the *Chiriquanas*, those of *Bressill*, and many other nations, which have no certaine Kings, but as occasion is offered in peace or warre, they choose their Captaines as they please. But some men excelling others

others in force and wit, began in time to rule and domineere as *Nembroth* did: so increasing by little and little, they erected the kingdomes of *Peru* and *Mexico*, which our Spaniards found: and although they were barbarous, yet did they farre surpasse all the other Indians. Behold how the foresaid reason doth teach vs, that the Indians began to multiply, for the most part, by savage men and fugitives, which may suffice touching the beginning of these men we speake of, leaving the rest, vntill we treat of their Historie more at large.

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THE
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 of the Naturall and Morall Hi-
 storie of the Indies.

*That it is not out of purpose, but necessarie to treat of the
 nature of the Equinoctiall. CHAP. I.*



OR the well conceiving of things at the *Indies*, it is necessarie to know the nature and disposition of that Region, which the Ancients did call the burning Zone, the which they held inhabitable, seeing the greatest part of this new world, which hath bin of late discovered, lies and is situate vnder this region in the midst of heaven. And it seemes to me greatly to purpose which some do say, that the knowledge of things at the *Indies*, depends of the well vnderstanding the nature of the Equinoctiall: for that the difference which is betwixt the one and the other world, proceeds in a maner from the qualities of this Equinoctiall. And we must note, that all the space betwixt the two Tropicks, must be properly taken and held for this middle line, which is the Equinoctiall

Equinoctiall; so called, for that the Sunne running his course therein, makes the daies & nights even throughout the world: yea, they that dwell vnder this line, inioy, throughout the yeare, the same equalitie of daies, and nights. In this Equinoctiall line, we finde so many admirable qualities, that with great reason mans vnderstanding doth studie and labour to search out the causes; not moved therevnto so much by the doctrine of ancient Philosophers, as by reason and certaine experience.

For what reason the Ancients held, that the burning Zone was inhabitable. CHAP. 2.

Examining this subiect from the beginning, no man can denie that which we plainly see, that the Sunne when it drawes neere, doth heate, and when it retyres, groweth cold. The daies and nightes, with the Winter and Summer be witnessses heereof; whose varietie with the heate and cold, growes by the neerenes and distance of the Sunne. Moreover it is certaine, the more the Sunne approacheth and casteth his beames prependicularly, the more the earth is scorched and burnt, the which we see plainly in the heate of the South, and in the force of Summer, whereby we may iudge (in my opinion) that the farther a Countrie is distant from the course of the Sunne, the more cold it is. So we finde by experience, that the Countreies and Regions, which approach neere to the North, are coldest: and contrariwise, those that lie neere the *Zodiacke*, where the Sunne keepes his course, are most hot. For this cause *Ethiopia* passeth *Affrike* and *Barbarie* in
G 2 heat:

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heate, *Barbarie* exceeds *Andaloufia*, *Andaloufia*, *Castile* and *Arragon* surpasse *Biscaie* and *Fraunce*. And the more they decline to the North, the colder they are: and so by consequence, those which approach neereſt to the Sunne, and are beaten perpendicularly with his beames, they do moſt fee the heate thereof. Some vrge another reaſon to this effect, which is, that the motion of the heaven is very ſodaine and light towards the *Tropikes*, but neere the Poles it is ſlow and heauey, whereby they conclude, that the region which the *Zodiacke* circles and containes, is ſet on fire with heate for three cauſes and reaſons; the one for the neerenes of the Sunne, the other, for that his beames reflect directly, and the third, for that it doth participate and feele this ſwift and ſodaine motion of the heaven. See what reaſon and diſcourſe teacheth vs, touching the cauſe of heat and cold vpon the regions of the earth. But what ſhall we ſay of the two other qualities, wet and drie? Even the ſame. For the drought ſeemes to grow by the neerenes of the Sunne, and moiſtnes, being retired farre off, for that the night being colder then the day, is likewiſe more moiſt; and the day which is drie, is alſo hotter. Winter, whiſt the Sun runnes his courſe farther off, is more cold and rainie, and Summer, when the Sunne is neere, is more hotte and drie: for even as the fire hath the propertie to parch and burne, ſo hath it to drie vp the moiſtnes. Theſe things therefore conſidered, *Ariſtotle* and other Philoſophers attribute vnto the regions of the South, which they call burning, an exceſſive heat and a drouth likewiſe. And therefore they ſaid, this region is wonderfully ſcorched and drie; & ſo by conſequence, hath neither waters nor paſtures, whereby of neceſſitie it muſt be contrarie and vnfit for mans life.

Tha

That the burning Zone is very moist, contrary to the opinion of the Ancients. CHAP. 3.

ALL that we have propounded, seemes vndoubted-ly true, and to purpose; and yet the conclusion they would draw from it, is directly false; for that the Region of the South, which they call the burning Zone, is peopled and inhabited by men; and wee our selves have stayed long there, beeing very commodious, pleasant and agreeable. If therefore it be so (as we cannot denie it) that from a true proposition, we cannot draw a false conclusion, and yet this conclusion should be false, (as indeed it is,) we must of necessitie returne backe the same way, to examine this proposition more strictly, & whence the error should proceede: we will first shew the trueth, as assured experience doth teach vs, then will we proove it, (although it be verie difficult) and will endeavour to give a reason, following the termes of Philosophie. The last point that wee propounded, that the drought is greatest, whenas the Sunne is neere to the earth, seemeth certaine and infallible, and yet it is very false; for there is never greater abundance of raine in the burning Zone, then whenas the Sunne goeth directly over them, and is very neere. Truly it is an admirable thing, and worthy observation, that the ayre is most cleere, and without rayne vnder this burning Zone, whenas the Sunne is farthest off; and contrariwise there is most rayne, snow and mists, whenas the Sunne is neere. Such as have not travelled in this new world, will happily thinke this incredible; and it will seeme strange even vnto such as have beene there, if they have not well observed it: but

the one and the other will willingly yeeld, in noting the certaine experience of that which hath beene sayd of this part of *Peru*, which looks to the Southerne or *Antartike* Pole: the Sunne is then farthest off, when it is neereſt vnto *Europe*, that is, in Maie, Iune, Iuly and Auguſt, whenas hee makes his courſe in the Tropicke of *Cancer*. During which Moneths, the aire at *Peru* is very cleere and calme, neyther doth there fall any ſnow or raine; all their rivers fall much, and ſome are dried vp quite: but as the yeere increaſeth, and the Sunne approacheth neere vnto the Tropicke of *Capricorne*, then begins it to raine and to ſnow, and their Rivers ſwell from October to December. Then after that the Sun retyring from *Capricorne*, whenas his beames reflect directly vpon the heads of them of *Peru*, then is the violence of their waters great, then is the time of raine, ſnow, and great overflowings of their Rivers; when as their heate is greateſt, that is, from Ianuarie to mid March: this is ſo true and certaine, as no man may contradict it. And at that time the contrary is found in the Regions of the Pole *Articke*, beyond the *Equinoctiall*, which proceeds from the ſame reaſon. But let vs now looke into the temperature of *Panama* & all that coaſt, as well of new *Spaine*, the Ilands of *Barlovent*, *Cuba*, *Hiſpaniola*, *Iamaica*, as of *S. Iohn de Port ricco*, wee ſhall without doubt finde, that from the beginning of November, vntill Aprill, they have the aire cleere and bright; the reaſon is, for that the Sunne paſſing by the *Equinoctiall* to the Tropicke of *Capricorne*, retyres from thoſe Regions more then at any other time of the yeere. And contrariwiſe, they have violent ſhowers and great ſwellings of water, whenas the Sunne returns and is neereſt vnto them, which is from Iune, vn-

to September, for then his beames beate moſt upon them. The like happens at the Eaſt *Indies*, as we learne daily by letters that come. So as it is a generall rule, (although in ſome places there is an exception) that in the Region of the South or burning *Zone*, which is all one, the aire is moſt cleere and drieſt, whenas the Sun is fartheſt off; and contrariwiſe, when it approcheth, there is greateſt rayne and humiditie: and even as the Sunne advanceth or retyreth little or much, even ſo the earth abounds or wants water and moiſture.

That in the Regions which be without the Tropicks, there is greateſt ſtore of waters, whenas the Sunne is fartheſt off, contrary to that under the burning Zone.

CHAP. 4.

IN Regions which lie without the Tropicks, we ſee the contrary to that which hath beene ſpoken: for that the rayne is mingled with cold, & the drought with heate, the which is well knowne in all *Europe* and the old world, as we ſee in the ſame manner in the new world, whereof the whole Kingdome of *Chile* is a witneſſe, which lying without the Tropicke of *Capricorne*, and in the ſame height with *Spaine*, is ſubiect to the ſame lawes of Winter and Summer, but that Winter is there, whenas it is Summer in *Spaine*, being vnder divers Poles. So as when it is cold in theſe Provinces, the waters are in great abondance, which is, when the Sunne is fartheſt off, from the beginning of Aprill, to the end of September: finally, the diſpoſition of ſeaſons is like to that in *Europe*, which is; that the heat and drought comes whenas the Sunne returnes, which is

the cause that this Realme of *Chile* approacheth neerer the temperature of *Europe*; then any other of the *Indies*, as well in the fruites of the earth, as in the bodies and spirits of men. The like they report of that part which lies before the Inner *Ethiopia*, that stretcheth out in manner of a point vnto the Cape *Bonne Esperance* or Good Hope, the which they holde for a true cause of the inundations of *Nile*, which bee in Summer, whereof the Ancients have so much disputed, for that in that Region the Winter and raine begins in April, whenas the Sunne hath passed *Aries*: and these waters, which partly grow from snow, and partly from raine, assemble and make great Lakes and Pooles, from whence by good and true Geographie the River of *Nile* proceedes, and by this meanes goes by little and little stretching out her course, till that having runne a long way, it finally in the time of Summer overfloweth *Egypt*; which seemeth against nature, and yet it is certainly reported; for at what time it is Summer in *Egypt*, lying vnder the Tropicke of *Cancer*, then is it winter at the springes of *Nile*, which is vnder the other Tropicke of *Capricorne*. There is in *America* an other inundation like to that of *Nile*, at *Paraguayen*, or River de la *Plata*, which is as much to say, as the River of silver, the which receiving yeerely infinite waters which fall from the Mountaines of *Peru*, doth so terribly swell in her course, and over-flows that Region, as the Inhabitants are forced, during those Moneths, to retyre themselves into boats and *Canoes*, and to leave the dwelling of the Land.

That

That betwixt the two Tropicks, the greatest abundance of raine is in Summer, with a discourse of Winter and Summer. CHAP. 5.

TO conclude, Summer is alwayes accompanied with heate and drought, in the two temperate *Zones*, and Winter with cold and moistnesse: but vnder the burning *Zone* those qualities are not alike, for that raine accompanies heate, and drought followeth the cold: I vnderstand by cold, want of excessive heat, so as Winter is taken in our *Europe* for the colde and raynie season, and Summer for the hot and cleere season. Our Spaniards which live at *Peru*, and in newe *Spaine*, seeing these two qualities not to concur together as in *Spaine*, call that season Winter, wherein there is greatest abundance of raine and waters; and Summer, where there is little or none at all: wherein they are plainly deceived, although they affirme by a generall rule, that in the Mountaines of *Peru*, it is Summer from the Moneth of Aprill to September, for that the raine ceaseth in that season; and that Winter is, from the moneth of September vnto Aprill, for that the showres returne then; and therefore it is winter and summer at the same instant that in *Spaine*. So as when the Sunne goeth directly over their heads, they then take it to bee the depth of Winter, having greatest store of raine. But it is worthy to be laughed at, comming from ignorant men and vnlearned: for even as the difference betwixt the day and night proceeds from the presence or absence of the Sunne in our hemisphere, according to the motion of the first motor, which is the cause of day and night; even so the difference

rence which we see betwixt Winter and Summer, proceeds from the neerenesse and distance of the Sunne, according to the motion of the said Sunne, which is the proper cause. To speake truely then, it is Summer whenas the Sunne is neereſt, and Winter when it is fartheſt off. Both heate and coldneſſe, and every other temperature, growes of neceſſitie, by the neerenesse and distance of the ſunne; but to raine, or not to raine, which is humiditie and drougth, doe not neceſſarily follow. It is therefore eaſie to iudge (beſides this vulgar opinion) that at *Peru*, the Winter is cleere and without raine, and the Summer full of ſhowres, and not otherwiſe, as many beleeve, that the winter is hotte, and the ſummer cold. They fall into the like error, vpon the difference they make betwixt the Plaines and the Mountaines of *Peru*, ſaying, that when it is ſummer vpon the mountaine, it is winter in the vallye, which is in April, Maie, Iune, Iuly, and Auguſt: for then the aire is very cleere vpon the mountaine, without any raine or miſtes, and at the ſame ſeaſon, we commonly ſee fogges in the plaine, which they call *Guarua*, which is as it were a very ſweet dew wherewith the ſunne is covered. But winter and ſummer, as it is ſaid, are cauſed by the neerenesse and diſtance of the ſunne. Seeing then that throughout all *Pern*, both vpon the Mountaines and on the Plaines, the ſunne approcherh and retyreth in one ſort, there is no reaſon to ſay, that when it is ſummer in one part, that it is winter in another; yet is it no matter of any importance, to contend vpon the ſignification of words: Let them terme them as they pleaſe, and call that ſummer when it raines not, although the heat be greater. But that, whereunto we muſt have greateſt regard, is the trueth of the ſubiect, which

which is, that drought and want of raine, is not alwaies greatest, when the sunne approacheth neereſt, as we ſee in the burning Zone.

That the burning Zone abounds with waters and paſtures, againſt the opinion of Aristotle, who holds the contrarie. CHAP. 6.

BY the former Diſcourſe wee may eaſily conceive, that the burning Zone is not drie, but abounding with waters; the which is ſo true, as it exceeds all the Regions of the world for ſtore of waters, except in ſome parts, where there are ſands and deſart Countreies, as wee finde likewiſe in ſome other parts of the world. As for water from Heaven, wee have alreadie ſhewen, that there is great aboundance of raine, ſnow and haile, which eſpecially abound in the kingdome of Peru. But as for land-waters, as rivers, fountaines, brookes, ſprings, floods, and lakes, I have not ſpoken thereof till now; yet being an ordinarie thing, that the waters below have a correſpondencie with them above, wee muſt not imagine that there can bee any want: and in trueth there is ſo great ſtore of ſprings and fountaines, as you ſhall not finde in any Region or Countrey of the world; ſo many lakes, mariſhes, and ſuch ſtore of rivers, for the greateſt part of *America* is almoſt inhabitable through too great aboundance of waters: for that the rivers ſwell'd with the great Raines in Summer, doe often overflow their bankes, with ſuch furie, as they breake all they incounter: and in many places they cannot paſſe, by reaſon of the mudde and myre of mariſhes and vallies: for this cauſe,
thoſe

those that live neere to *Paraguay*, (whereof wee have made mention,) foreseeing the rising of the River before it comes, put themselves and their goods into *Canoes*, and so preserve themselves and their goods, floating vp and downe, almost for the space of three moneths: and when the River is returned within her boundes, then they goe to their houses, still wette and dropping with the flood. And this River is so great, as *Nile*, *Ganges* & *Euphrates* all together cannot equall it. But what shall we say of the great river of *Magdalaine*, which fallies into the sea betwixt *S. Mariha* and *Carthagene*, and with reason is called the great river? Sailing in those parts, I was amazed to see her streame (which was very cleere) runne ten leagues into the sea, being in breadth above two leagues; not mingling nor vanquished with the violent waves of the Ocean. But if we shall speake more of rivers, that great flood called by some, the river of *Amazons*, by others *Marannon*, and by some, the river of *Orellana*, which our Spaniards sailed in their discoveries, ought to blemish all the rest; and in truth I am in doubt whither I may tearme it a river, or a sea. It flowes from the mountaines of *Peru*, from whence it receiues a great aboundance of water, both of raine and of rivers, which it gathereth into it; then passing by the great plaines of *Pautiti*, *Dorado*, and the *Amazons*, in the end it fallies into the Ocean, almost right against the Iland of *Marquerite* and *Trinidado*. It hath so large & broad a channel, specially in the last third part of her length, as it contains in it many great Ilands. And that which seemes incredible, when you saile through the midst of it, you shall see nothing but aire and water. They say moreover, that from the midst you cannot see nor discover with the eye, many great and

and high mountaines which are vpon the bankes, by reason of her great bredth. We have learned from credible persons, the great and wonderfull bredth of this river (which in my opinion, deserves well the name of *Empresse* and *Queene* of all flouds,) which was by the report of a brother of our company, who being then yong, sailed it in the company of *Peter d'Orsua*, with whom hee was present at all the adventures of this strange entrie and discoverie; and at the seditious and pernicious acts of that wicked *Diego d'Aguirra*, from the which God delivered him to place him in our company. Such are the rivers in that region, which they call the burning Zone, and the drie & parcht vp countrie, in the which *Aristotle* and the Ancients affirmed there were neither waters, nor pastures. But seeing I have made mention of the river of *Marannou*, to shew the abundance of the waters that are in the burning zone, it shall not be from the purpose, to speake somewhat of that great Lake which they call *Titicaca*, which is in the midst of the Province of *Collao*. There are above ten great rivers which loose themselves entring into that Lake, and yet hath it no issue but one small current of water, although some hold it to be very deepe, and of such a fashion, as it is impossible to build a bridge over it, for the depth of the water, neither can they passe it by boate for the violence of the current. They passe it by an artificiall and notable practice, peculiar to the Indians, with a bridge of straw laied vpon the water, the which (being of so light a substance) sinkes not, and yet this passage is very easie and safe. This Lake contains almost foure score leagues, thirtie five in length, and fiftene in bredth at the largest place. There are many Ilands which in olde time were inhabited and tilled,

tilled, but now lie waste. It brings forth a great abundance of reedes, which the Indians call *Totora*, which serves them to a thousand vses; for it is meare for swine, for horses, and for men; they make houses therewith, fire and barks. To conclude, the *Vros* in this their *Totora* finde all they have neede of. These *Vros* be such dull and brutish people, as they esteeme not themselves men. It is reported of them, that being demanded of what nation they were: They answered, they were not men, but *Vros*, as it were some kinde of beastes. There are whole villages of these *Vros* inhabiting in the Lake in their boates of *Totora*, the which are tied together and fastened to some rocke, and often times the whole village changeth from place to place. So as hee that would seeke them now whereas they were yesterday, shall finde no shew nor remainder of them, or of their village. The current or issue of this Lake, having runne above fiftie leagues, makes another Lake, but lesse then the first which they call *Paria*, and containes in it some small Ilands, but they finde no issue thereof. Some imagine it runnes vnder the ground, & that it falles into the South sea; giving out, that there is a branch of a river which they see rise and enter into the sea neere the banke, having no knowledge of the Spring. But contrariwise, I beleeve that the waters of this Lake, dissolve and are dispersed within the Lake it selfe through the heate of the Sunne. This discourse seemes sufficient to prove, that the Ancients had no reason to holde, that the middle region was inhabitable for the defect of waters, seeing there is such store both from heaven and on the earth.

Shewing the reason why the Sunne without the Tropicks, causeth greatest quantitie of waters when it is farthest off; and contrariwise, within them it breedeth most, when it is neereſt. CHAP. 7.

CONſidering with my ſelfe often times, what ſhould cauſe the Equinoſtial to be ſo moiſt, as I have ſaid; to refute the opinion of the Ancients, I finde no other reaſon, but the great force of the ſunne in thoſe partes, whereby it drawes vnto it a great aboundance of vapors from out of the Ocean, which in thoſe parts is very great and ſpacious: and having drawne vnto it this great aboundance of vapours, doth ſuddenly diſſolve them into raine, and it is approoved by many tyed experiences, that the raine and great ſtormes from heaven proceed from the violent heat of the Sunne: firſt (as we have ſaid before) it raines in thoſe countries, when as the Sunne caſts his beames directly vpon the earth, at which time he hath moſt force: but when the Sun retyres, the heat is moderate, and then there falls no raine: whereby we may conclude, that the force and heat of the Sunne is the cauſe of raine in thoſe Countries. Moreover we obſerve, both in *Peru*, *New Spaine*, and in all the burning *Zone*, that the raine doth vſually fall in after-noon, when as the ſunne-beames are in their greateſt force, being ſtrange to ſee it raine in the morning. And therefore travellers fore-ſeeing it, begin their journeyes early, that they may end and reſt before noon, for they hold that commonly it raines after noon. Such as have frequented and travelled thoſe Countries, can ſufficiently ſpeake thereof. And there are, that (having made ſome abode there) ſay, that the greateſt

greatest abundance of raine is, when the Moone is at the full; but to say the trueth, I could never make sufficient prooffe thereof, although I have observed it. Moreover, the dayes, the yeere and the moneths, shew the trueth hereof, that the violent heate of the sunne causeth the raine in the burning *Zone*: experience teacheth vs the like in artificiall thinges, as in a *Limbecke*, wherein they draw waters from hearbs & flowers; for the vehemencie of the fire forceth and driveth vp an abundance of vapours, which being pressed, and finding no issue, are converted into liquor and water. The like wee see in gold and silver, which wee refine with quicke-silver, the fire being small and slow, wee draw out almost nothing of the quicke-silver, but if it bee quicke and violent, it doth greatly evaporate the quicke-silver, which incountring the head above, doth presently turne into liquor, and begins to drop downe: Even so the violent heate of the sunne produceth these two effects, when it finds matter disposed, that is, to draw vp the vapours on high, and to dissolve them presently, and turne them into raine, when there is any obstacle to consume them. And although these things seeme contrary, that one sunne within the burning *Zone*, being neere, should cause raine, and without the *Zone* as farre off should breed the like effect, so it is, that all well considered, there is no contrarietie. A thousand effects in naturall causes proceede of contrarie things by divers meanes: we drie linnen by the fire, and in the aire, and yet the one heats and the other cooles; pastures are dried and hardened by the sunne and with the frost; moderate exercise provokes sleepe, being too violent, it hindereth: if you lay no wood on the fire, it dieth; if you lay on too much, it likewise quenctheth:

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for the onely proportion entertaines and makes it to continue. To well discern a thing, it must not be too neere theeie, nor too farre off, but in a reasonable distance proportionable; being too farre off from any thing, we loose the sight; and too neere likewise, we cannot see it. If the sunne beames be weake, they draw vp no fogge from the rivers, if they be violent, having drawne vp the vapours, they presently dissolve and consume them; but if the heat be moderate, it drawes vp and preserves it: for this reason the vapours rise not commonly in the night, nor at noone, but in morning, whenas the sunne begins to enter into his force. There are a thousand examples of naturall causes vpon this subiect, which we see do often grow from contrarie things: whereby we must not wonder, if the sunne being neere, engenders raine, and being farre off, works the like effect: but being of a moderate and proportionable distance, causeth none at all. Yet there remaines one doubt, why the neerenes of the sunne causeth the raine vnder the burning Zone, and without, when it is farthest off. In my opinion the reason is, that in Winter without the Tropicks, the sunne hath not force sufficient to consume the vapours which rise from the land and sea; for these vapours grow in great abundance in the cold region of the aire, where they are congealed and thickened by the extremitie of the cold; and after being pressed, they dissolve and turne into water. Therefore in Winter when the sunne is farthest off, the daies short, and the nights long, his heat hath small force: but when the sunne approacheth, which is in the summer time, his force is such, as it drawes vp the vapors, and suddenly consumes and disperseth them; for the heat and the length of the

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daies grow through the neerenes of the sunne . But within the Tropicks vnder the burning Zone , the far distance of the sunne workes the same effects that the neerenes doth without the Tropiks; by reason whereof, it raines no more vnder the burning Zone when the sunne is farre off, then without the Tropicks when it is neereft, for that in this approaching and retyring , the sunne remaines alwaies in one distance whence proceeds this effect of cleerenes . But when the sunne is in the period of his force in the burning zone, and that he cast his beames directly vpon the inhabitants heads, there is neither cleerenes nor drienes, as it seems there should be , but rather great and strange showers ; for that by this violent heat, he drawes vp suddenly a great abundance of vapours from the Earth and Ocean, which are so thicke, as the winde, not able easily to dissolve them, they melt into water, which breedeth the cold raine in so great abundance : for the excessive heat may soone draw vp many vapours, the which are not so soone dissolved : and being gathered together through their great abundance, they melt and dissolve into water . The which we may easily discern by this familiar example: roste a peece of porke, mutton, or veale, if the fire be violent, and the meate neere, we see the fatte melts suddenly, and droppes away, the reason is, that the violent heat drawes forth the humour and fatte from the meate, and being in great abundance, cannot dissolve it, and so it distills more away: But when the fire is moderate, and the meat in an equall distance, we see that it rostes handsomely, and the fatte drops not too suddenly, for that the moderate heat drawes out the moistnes which it consumes suddenly . And therefore Cookes make a moderate fire,

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and lay not their meate too neere nor too farre off, lest it melt away. The like may be seene in another experience in candles of tallow or waxe, if the wike bee great, it melts the tallow or the waxe, for that the heat cannot consume the moistnes which riseth, but if the flame be proporcionable, the waxe melts nor droppes not, for that the flame doth waste it by little and little as it riseth. The which seemeth to me the true reason, why vnder the Equinoctiall and burning Zone, the violence of the heat doth cause raine, the which in other Regions growes through want thereof.

How wee should understand, that which hath been formerly spoken of the burning Zone. CHAP. 8.

IF in naturall and phisicall things, we must not seeke out infallible and mathematicall rules, but that which is ordinarie and tried by experience, which is the most perfect rule, wee must then beleeve what wee have said, that there is more humiditie vnder the burning Zone then in other Regions; and that it raines lesse there, when the sunne is neere, must be taken and vnderstood after one sort, as in truth it is the most common and ordinarie. But this is not to hinder the exceptions which nature hath given to this rule, making some Regions of the burning Zone extremely drie. The which is reported of *Ethiopia*, and wee have seene it in a great part of *Peru*, where all that land or coast, which they call *Plaines*, wants raine, yea, land waters, except some vallies, where rivers fall from the mountaines; the rest is a sandie and barren soile, where you shall hardly finde any springs, but some deepe wells.

welles. But with the helpe of God, wee will shew the reason why it raineth not in these Plaines (the which many demand;) for now I onely pretend to shew, that there are many exceptions to naturall rules, whereby it may happen, that in some part of the burning Zone, it raines not when the sunne is neereft, but being farthest off, although vnto this daie I have neither seene nor heard of it: but if it be so, wee must attribute it to the particular qualitie of the earth: and also, if sometimes the contrarie doth chance, we must have regard that in naturall things there happens many contrarieties and lets, whereby they change and dissolve one another. For example, it may be the sunne will cause raine, and that the winds will hinder it; or else cause more aboundance then hath been vsuall. The windes have their properties and divers beginnings, by the which they worke divers effects; the which are most commonly contrarie to that which the order & season requires. Seeing then in all places we see great varieties in the yeere, which proceedes from the divers motions and aspectes of Planets, it is not out of purpose to say, that in the burning Zone, wee may see and observe some things contrarie to that we have tried. But to conclude, that which we have spoken, is a certaine and vndoubted truth, which is, that the great draught which the Ancients held to be in the middle region, which they call the burning Zone; is nothing at all: but contrariwise there is great humiditie, and then it raines most, when the sunne is neereft.

That the Burning Zone is not violently hotte, but moderate. CHAP. 9.

Hitherto wee haue treated of the humiditie of the Burning Zone, now it shall be fit to discourse of the other two qualities, Hotte, and Colde. We have shewed in the beginning of this Discourse, how the Ancients held that the burning Zone was hotte and exceeding drie, the which is not so; for it is hote and moist, and in the greatest part, the heat is not excessive, but rather moderate, which some would hold incredible, if we had not tried it. When I passed to the *Indies*, I will tell what chaunced vnto mee: having read what Poets and Philosophers write of the burning Zone, I perswaded my selfe, that comming to the Equinoctiall, I should not indure the violent heate; but it fell out otherwise; for when I passed, which was when the sun was there for Zenith, being entered into *Aries*, in the moneth of March, I felt so great cold; as I was forced to go into the sunne to warme me, what could I else do then, but laugh at *Aristotles* Meteors and his Philosophie, seeing that in that place, and at that season, whenas all should be scorched with heat, according to his rules, I, and all my companions were a colde. In truth there is no region in the world more pleasant and temperate, then vnder the Equinoctiall, although it be not in all parts of an equall temperature, but have great diversities. The burning Zone in some parts is very temperate, as in *Quitto*, and on the plaines of *Perru*, in some partes verie colde, as at *Potozi*, and in some very hote, as in *Ethiopia*, *Bresill*, and the *Molucques*. This diversitie being knowne and certaine vnto vs, we must of force, seeke out another cause of cold and heat

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then the sunne beames, seeing that in one season of theyeere, and in places of one height and distance, from the Pole and Equinoctiall we finde so great diversitie, that some are invironed with heat, some with cold, and others tempered with a moderate heat. *Plato* placeth his most renowned *Atlantike* Iland vnder the burning Zone; then he saith, that at certaine seasons of the yeere, it hath the sunne for Zenith, and yet it was very temperate, fruitfull, and rich. *Plinie* saith, that *Taprobana* (which at this day they call *Sumatra*,) is vnder the Equinoctiall, as in effect it is, writing, that it is not onely happie and rich, but also peopled with men and beasts: whereby we may easily iudge, that although the Ancients held the heate of the burning Zone to be insupportable, yet might they well vnderstand, that it was not so great as they had spoken. The most excellent Astrologer and Cosmographer *Ptolome*, and the worthie Philosopher and Physitian *Avicen*, were of a better resolution, being both of opinion, that vnder the Equinoctiall, there were verie commodious habitations.

*Plato in Tim.
& Critia.*

Plin. lib. 6. c. 12

That the heat of the burning Zone is temperate, by reason of the rayne and the shortnes of the dayes.

CHAP. IO.

SINCE the discoverie of this newe worlde, wee have found by experience, that which late Writers have held for trueth. But it is a naturall thing, whenas any matter beyond our conceit is made knowne vnto vs by experience, we by and by examine the cause. Therefore wee desire to know the reason, why a Region where

where the sunne approacheth neereſt, is not onely temperate, but in many parts cold. Conſidering this matter generally, I finde two general cauſes, which maketh this Region temperate: the one is that before mentioned, for that this Region is very moiſt and ſubiect to raine, and there is no doubt but the rayne doth reſreſh it, for that the water is by nature cold; and although by the force of the fire it be made hotte, yet doth it temper this heat proceeding onely from the ſunne-beames. The which we ſee by experience in the inner *Arabia*, the which is burnt with the Sunne, having no ſhowres to temper the violence thereof. The clouds and miſts are the cauſe that the ſunne offends not ſo much, and the ſhowers that fall from them, reſreſh both the ayre and the earth, and moiſten likewiſe how hot ſoever it be. They drinke raine water, and it quencheth the thirſt, as our men have well tried, having no other to drinke. So as reaſon and experience doth teach vs, that raine of it ſelfe doth temper the heat; and having by this meanes ſhewed, that the burning Zone is much ſubiect vnto raine, it appeares that there is matter in it, to temper the violence of the heat. To this I will adde an other reaſon, which deſerves to be knowne, not onely for this matter, but for many others; for although the Sunne be very hotte and burning vnder the Equinoctiall, yet is it not long, ſo as the heate of the day being there ſhorter, and of leſſe continuance, it cauſeth not ſo violent a heate; the which it behooves to ſpecifie more particularly. Such as are practiſed in the knowledge of the Sphære teach very well, that the more the Zodiacke is oblique and traueſing our Hemisphere, the more vnequall are the daies and nights; and contrariwiſe, where the ſphere is ſtraight, and the ſignes

mount directly, there the dayes and nights are equall. And therefore in all that Region which is betweene the two Tropicks, there is lesse inequality then without them, and the more we approach the Line, the lesse inequality we finde, the which we have tryed in those parts. Those of *Quitto*, for that they are vnder the line, have not throughout the whole yeere, the dayes and nights more short at one season, then at an other, but are continually equall. Those of *Lima* beeing distant almost twelve degrees, finde some difference betwixt the dayes and the nights, but very little, for that in December and Ianuarie, the dayes increase an houre or little lesse. Those of *Potozj* finde much more difference, both in winter and in summer, being almost vnder the Tropicke. But those that live without the Tropikes, find the dayes in winter shorter, and in summer longer: the more remote they are from the Equinoctiall and come neere the Pole, as we see in *Germany* and in *England*, the daies are longer in summer, then in *Italie* and in *Spaine*. It is a thing which the Sphere doth teach, and experience doth plainly shew vs. We must adde an other proposition, which is likewise true and very considerable for all the effectes of nature to vnderstand the perseverance and continuation of the efficient cause to worke and moove. This presupposed, if any one demaund of me, why vnder the Equinoctiall Line, the heat is not so violent in summer, as in some other Regions, (as in *Andelousia* in the moneths of Iuly and August) I will answer, that in *Andelousia* the dayes are longer, and the nights shorter; and as the day being hot, inflames and causeth heat, so the nights being cold and moist, give a refreshing. According to the which, at *Pern*, there is no such great heat, for that the dayes

dayes in summer are not long, nor the nights short; so as the heate of the day is much tempered by the freshnesse of the night. And although the burning Zone be neerer the Sunne then all other Regions, yet doth not the heate continue there so long. It is a naturall thing, that a small fire continued, heats more, then a greater that lastes but little, especially if there bee any thing to refresh it. He therefore that shal put these two properties of the Zone in one ballance, that it is most rainie in the time of greatest heate, and that the dayes are shortest there, he shall perchance finde them to equall the other two contrarieties, which bee, that the Sunne is neerer and more directly over them then in other Regions.

That there be other reasons besides the former mentioned, which shew, that the burning Zone is temperate, especially amongst the Ocean. CHAP. II.

BEing a thing concluded, that the two forenamed properties are common and vniversal to all the region of the burning Zone: and yet in the same there are found some places very hote, and other exceeding colde: Also, that the temperature is not there equall in all places, but vnder one climate, one part is hote, another colde, and the third temperate, all at one season; we are forced to seeke out other reasons, whence this great diversitie should proceede in the burning Zone. Discourssing therefore vpon this question, I do finde three apparant and certaine causes; and a fourth more obscure and darke. The apparant and certaine causes be: The first is the Ocean, the second, the situation

tuation of the land, and the third, the nature and propertie of many and sundry windes. Besides these three which I holde for manifest, I beleeeve there is a fourth hidden and lesse apparant, which is the propertie of the same land inhabited, and the particular influence of the heavens. Whoso woulde neerely consider the causes and generall reasons before mentioned, shall finde them insufficient for the full resolution of this point, observing that which daily happens in diverse partes of the Equinoctiall. *Manomotapa*, and a great part of the kingdom of *Prester Iean* are seated vnder the line, or very neere. In which regions they endure excessive heate, and the men are all blacke; the which is not onely in those parts of the land farre from the sea, but also in Ilands invironed with the sea. The Iland of *Saint Thomas* is vnder the Line, the Ilands of *Cape Verd* are very neere, and both in the one and the other are violent heates: and the men are likewise blacke. Vnder the same line, or very neere, lies a part of *Peru*, and of the new kingdome of *Grenado*, which notwithstanding are very temperate Countries, inclining rather to colde then heate, and the inhabitants are white. The Country of *Bresill* is in the same distance from the line with *Peru*, and yet both *Bresill* and all that coast is extremely hot, although it be in the North sea, and the other coast of *Peru*, which is in the South sea, is very temperate. I say then, that whosoever would consider these differences, and give a reason thereof, cannot content himselfe with these generall rules before specified, to proove that the burning Zone may be a temperate land. Among the speciall causes and reasons, I have first placed the Sea, for without doubt, the neeressesse thereof doth helpe to temper and coole the heat:
for

for although the water be salt, yet is it alwayes water, whose nature is cold, and it is a thing remarkeable, that in the depth of the Ocean, the water cannot be made hot by the violence of the Sunne, as in rivers: finally, even as salt-peeter (though it be of the nature of salt) hath a propertie to coole water, even so we see by experience, that in some ports and havens, the salt-water doth refresh; the which wee have observed in that of *Callao*, whereas they put the water or wine which they drinke, into the Sea in flaggons to be refreshed, where-by wee may vndoubtedly finde, that the Ocean hath this propertie, to temper and moderate the excessive heate: for this cause we feele greater heat at land then at sea, *Ceteris paribus*; and commonly Countries lying neere the sea, are cooler then those that are farther off. *Ceteris paribus*, as I have said, even so the greatest part of the new world, lying very neere the Ocean, wee may with reason say, although it bee vnder the burning Zone, yet doth it receive a great benefite from the sea to temper the heat.

That the highest landes are the coldest, and the reason thereof. CHAP. 12.

BVt if we shall yet search more particularly, we shall not finde in all this land an equall temperature of heate, although it be in equal distance from the sea, and in the same degree, seeing that in some partes there is great heate, and in some, very little. Doubtlesse, the cause thereof is, that the one is lower, and the other higher; which causeth that the one is hote, and the other colde. It is most certaine, that the toppes of the
moun.

mountaines are colder then in the bottome of the val-
 lies, the which procedes, not onely for that the sunne
 beames have greater repercussions vpon lower places,
 although it be a great reason; yet there is an other,
 which is, that the Region of the ayre is colder when it
 is farthest from the ground. The Plaines of *Collao* at
Peru & of *Popaian* in new *Spaine* make sufficient prooffe
 hereof. For without al doubt those parts are high coun-
 tries, and for this reason cold, although they be all in-
 uironed with high points of mountaines, much subiect
 to the Sunne beames. But if we demand why at *Peru*,
 and in new *Spaine*, the Plaines along the coast be very
 hote, and the plaines of the same Countries of *Peru*
 and new *Spaine* be contrariwise colder? In truth I see no
 other reason can be given, but that the one is a lowe
 country, and the other high. Experience dooth teach
 vs, that the middle region of the ayre is colder than the
 neather. And therefore the more the mountaines ap-
 proach to the middle, the colder they are, being cou-
 uered with snow and frosts. Reason it selfe dooth yeelde
 to it. For if there be a sphere and region of fire, as *Ari-
 stotle* and the other Philosophers say, the middle region
 of the ayre must be most colde, by *Ani-pari-tasis*, the
 colde being expelled and thickned there, as in summer
 time we see in wells that are very deepe. For this cause
 the Philosophers affirme, that the two extreame regi-
 ons of the ayre, that above, and the other belowe, are
 the hottest, and the middle region more colde. If it be
 thus, as experience doth teach vs, we shall yet draw out
 another reason and notable argument, to shew that the
 burning Zone is temperate, which is, that the greatest
 part of the *Indies* is a high countrey, filled with many
 mountaines, which by their neerenesse refresh the
 neighbor

neighbour countries. You may continually see vpon the toppes of these mountaines, snow, haile and frozen waters; and the cold so bitter, as the grasse is all withered, so as the men and beasts which passe that way, are benumbed with colde. This, as I have saide, is in the burning Zone: and it happens most commonly when they have the sunne for zenith. It is therefore most certaine and conformable vnto reason, that the mountaines are colder than the valleis and plaines; for that they participate more of the middle region of the aire, which is very colde. The cause why the middle region of the ayre is more colde, hath bin shewed before: for that the region of the aire next to the fiery exhalation, the which (according to *Aristotle*) is vpon the spheare of the aire, repells and thrustes backe all the colde, the which retires it selfe into the middle region of the aire, by *Antiparistasis*, as the Philosophers speake. Now if any one should question with me in this manner; If it be so that the ayre is hot and moist, as *Aristotle* holdes, and as we commonly say, whence then proceeds the cold which is congealed in the middle region of the ayre, seeing it cannot come from the fierie spheare? For if it come from the water, or the earth; by this reason the lower region of the aire should be colder than the middle.

To answer truely what I thinke, I will confesse, that this Argument and Obiection is so difficult, as I am almost ready to follow the opinion of such as reprove the qualities, agreements and disagreements which *Aristotle* gives vnto the Elements, saying they are but imaginations, who for this occasion hold the aire to be colde by nature. And to this end they vse many arguments and reasons, whereof we will propound one very

Dionys. c. 15. de
cæl. hierar.

very familiar and well knowne, leaving the rest aparte. In the canicular. dayes we are accustomed to beate the ayre with a fanne, and we finde that it doth refresh vs; so as these Authours affirme, that heate is no private property of any other Element, but of fire only, which is disperfed and mingled with all things (as the great *Demis* doth teach vs.) But whether it be so, or otherwise (for I will not contradict *Aristotle*, but in that which is most certaine) in the end they agree all, that the middle region of the ayre is colder than the lowest next to the earth, as experience dooth shew vs; seeing that in this middle region are congealed, snowe, haile, frosts, and other signes of extreame colde. The middle region then which they call the burning Zone, having on the one side the sea, and on the other the mountaines, we must hold them for sufficient causes. to temper and coole the heate.

That the colde windes be the principall cause to make the burning Zone temperate. CHAP. 13.

THE temperature of this region ought chiefly to be attributed to the property of the wind that blows in that country, the which is pleasant and fresh. The providence of the great God Creator of al things hath bin such, as he hath ordained fresh and coole windes in that region where the sunne makes his course (which seemes should be burnt vp) that by their coolenes the excessive heate of the sunne might be qualified. And they are not farre from apparance of reason, which held that the earthly Paradise was vnder the Equinoctiall. If they had not deceived themselves in the cause
of

Historie of the Indies. lib. 2. 111

of their opinion, saying that the equalitie of the dayes and nights, was sufficient of it selfe to make that Zone temperate; to which opinion many others have beene opposit, of which number was that renowned Poet, saying;

*That coast incessantly by hotte beames tyred
Of Phœbus, who from thence never retyred.*

The coolenesse of the night then is not sufficient to moderate and to correct the violent heate of the Sunne; but rather this burning Zone, receives so sweet a temperature, by the benefite of the fresh and pleasant aire, as notwithstanding, it were held by the Ancients to be more hotte then a burning furnace: yet those which inhabite there, take it for a delightfull spring. It appeares by arguments and very apparant reasons, that the cause heereof consistes principally in the qualitie of the winde. We see in one climate, some regions and Citties hotter then others, onely for that they feelee lesse winde to refresh them. The like is in other Countries where no winde blowes, the which are all on fire like vnto a furnace. There are many of these Villages and Townes in *Bresill*, *Ethiopia*, and *Paraguen*, as every one knoweth, and that which is more considerable; wee see these differences, not only on the Land, but also on the Sea: there are some seas where they feelee great heat, as they report of that of *Mozambicus* and *Ormuz* in the East, and of the Sea of *Panama* in the West: the which for this reason, engenders and brings forth great *Lizards* (called *Cayamans*;) as also in the sea of *Bresill*. There are other seas in the same degree of height, very colde, as that of *Peru*, in the which wee were a cold, (as I have said before) when we first sailed it, which was in March, when the Sunne was directly
over

over vs. In truth on this continent, where the land and sea are of one sort, wee cannot imagine any other cause of this so great a difference, but the qualitie of the winde which doth refresh them. If wee shall neerely looke into the consideration of the winde, whereof we have spoken, wee may resolve many doubts which some object, and which seeme strange and wonderfull: wherefore the Sunne casting his beames vpon the burning Zone, and particularly at *Peru*, and that more violently then in *Spaine* in the Canicular daies, yet they defend the heat with a light covering, so as with a slender covering of mats or straw, they are better preserved from the heate, then in *Spaine* vnder a roofof wood, or a vault of stone. Moreover, why are not the nightes in summer at *Peru*, as hotte and troublesome as in *Spaine*? Wherefore on the highest tops of mountaines, even amongst the heaps of snow, you shall sometimes feele great and insupportable heat: Wherefore in all the Province of *Colao*, when ye come into the shade, how little soever, you feele cold: But comming into the Sunne beames, you presently finde the heate excessive? Why is all the coast of *Peru*, being ful of sands, very temperate? And why is *Potozi* (distant from the silver Citie but eightene leagues, and in the same degree) of so diuers a temperature, that the Countie being extreemely colde, it is wonderfully barren and drie? And contrariwise, the silver Citie is temperate, inclining vnto heat, and hath a pleasant and fertil soile? It is more certaine, that the winde is the principall cause of these strange diversities, for without the benefite of these coole windes, the heate of the Sunne is such, as (although it bee in the midst of the snow,) it burnes and sets all on fire: but when the coolenes of the
aire

aire returnes suddenly, the heat is qualified how great soever it be: and whereas this coole winde raines ordinarie, it keepes the grosse vapours and exhalations of the earth from gathering together, which cause a heauie and troublefome heat: whereof we see the contrarie in *Europe*, for by the exhalation of these vapours, the earth is almost burnt vp with the Sunne by day, which makes the nights so hotte and troublefome, as the aire doth often seeme like vnto a furnace: for this reason, at *Peru*, this freshnes of the winde, is the cause (by the meanes of some small shade at the Sunnes setting) that they remaine coole. But contrariwise, in *Europe* the most agreeable and pleasing time in summer, is the morning, and the evening is the most hotte and troublefome. But at *Peru*, and vnder all the Equinoctiall it is not so, for every morning the winde from the sea doth cease, and the Sunne beginnes to cast his beames; and for this reason they feelee the greatest heat in the morning, vntill the returne of the same windes, which otherwise they call the tide or winde of the sea, which makes them first to feelee cold. We have tried al this, whilst we were at the Ilands of *Barlovente*, where in the mornings we did sweate for heat, and at noone we felt a fresh aire; for that then, a North-easterly wind which is fresh and coole, doth commonly blow.

That they which inhabite vnder the Equinoctiall, liue a sweete and pleasant life. CHAP. 14.

IF those which have held opinion, that the earthly Paradise was vnder the Equinoctiall, had beene guided by this discourse, they had not seemed altogether
I deceived,

*Pines. lib. 13.
de Citit. c. 21.*

deceived, not that I will conclude, that the delightfull Paradise, whereof the Scripture speakes was in that place, which were too great a temeritie to affirme it for certaine. But I may well say, if there be any Paradise on earth, it ought to bee placed whereras they inioy a sweete and quiet temperature; for there is nothing more troublesome or repugnant to mans life, then to live vnder a heaven or aire that is contrarie, troublesome or sicklie: as there is nothing more agreeable, then to inioy a heaven that is sound, sweet and pleasant: It is certaine that we do not participate of any of the Elements, nor have not the vse of any so often in our bodies as of the aire. It is that which inuironeth our bodies on all parts, which enters into our bowells, and at everie instant visits the heart; and there ingraves her properties. If the aire be any thing corrupted, it causeth death, if it be pure and healthfull, it augmenteth the strength; finally we may say, that the aire alone is the life of man: so as although we have goods and riches, if the aire be troublesome and vnholseome, wee cannot live quietly, nor with content: But if the aire be healthfull, pleasant, and sweete, although we have no other wealth, yet doth it yeelde content. Considering with my selfe, the pleasing temperature of many Countries at the *Indies*, where they know not what winter is, which by his cold doth freese them, nor summer which doth trouble them with heat, but that with a Matte they preserve themselves from the iniuries of all weather, and where they scarce have any neede to change their garments throughout the yeere. I say, that often considering of this, I find that if men at this day, would vanquish their passions, and free themselves from the snares of covetousnesse, leaving many fruitlesse and perni-

pernicious disseines, without doubt they might live at the *Indies* very pleasant and happily: for that which other Poets sing of the *Elisean* fields and of the famous *Tempe*, or that which *Plato* reports or faines of his *Atlantike* Iland; men should finde in these lands, if with a generous spirit they would choose rather to command their silver and their desires, then to remaine slaves as they are. That which wee have hitherto discoursed, shal suffice touching the qualities of the Equinoctiall, of colde, heat, drought, raine, and the causes of temperature. The particular discourse of windes, waters, landes, mettalls, plants, and beasts, (whereof there is great aboundance at the *Indies*,) shall remaine for the other bookes; for the difficultie of that which is handled in this, though briefly, will happily seeme too tedious.





An advertisement to the
Reader.



THE Reader must understand, that I wrote the two first bookes in Latine, when I was at Peru, and therefore they speake of matters of the Indies, as of things present: Being since returned into Spaine, I thought good to translate them into our vulgar tongue, and not to change my former manner of speech. But in the five following bookes, for that I made them in Europe, I have beene forced to change my stile, and therein to treat of matters of the Indies, as of Countries and things absent. And for that this diversitie of speech might with reason offend the Reader, I have thought good to advertise him thereof.

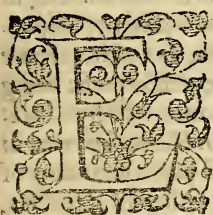


THE



THE
THIRD BOOKE
of the Naturall and Morall Hi-
storie of the Indies.

*That the naturall Historie of the Indies, is pleasant and
agreeable.* CHAP. I.



Verie naturall Historie is of it selfe
pleasing, & very profitable, to such
as will raise vp their discourse and
contemplation on high, in that it
doth move them to glorify the
Author of all nature, as we see the
wise & holy men do, specially Da-
uid in many Psalmes. And *Iob* likewise, treating of the
secrets of the Creator, whereas the same Lord answereth
Iob so amplie. He that takes delight to vnderstand
the wondrous works of Nature, shal taste the true plea-
sure & content of Histories; & the more, whenas he shal
know they are not the simple workes of men, but of the
Creator himself, & that he shall comprehend the natu-
rall causes of these workes, then shall he truly occupie
himselfe in the studie of Philosophie. But he that shall
raise his consideration higher, beholding the gret & first
architect of all these marvells, he shal know his wisdom

Psal. 103. 135.
91. 92. 18. 8.
Iob 28. 39.

and infinite greatnes, and (we may say) shall be divinely employed. And so the discourse of naturall things, may serve for many good considerations, although the feeblenes and weakenes of many appetites, are commonly accustomed to stay at things lesse profitable, which is the desire to know new things, called curiositie. The Discourse and Historie of naturall things at the *Indies* (besides the common content it gives,) hath yet another benefite, which is to treat of things a farre off, the greatest part whereof were vnkowne to the most excellent Authors of that profession, which have bin among the Ancients. And if wee should write these naturall things of the *Indies*, so amply as they require, being so strange, I doubt not but we might compile worke, no lesse then those of *Plinie*, *Theophrastes*, and *Aristotle*. But I hold not my selfe sufficient, and although I were, yet is not my intent, but to note some naturall things which I haue seene and knowne being at the *Indies*, or have received from men worthy of credit, the which seeme rare to me, and scarce knowne in *Europe*. By reason whereof, I will passe over many of them briefly, ether because they are written of by others, or else require a longer discourse then I can now give.

Of the windes, their differences, properties, and causes in generall. CHAP. 2.

HAVING discoursed in the two former Books of that which concerne the heavens, and the habitation of the *Indies* in generall, it behooves vs now to treat of the three elements, aire, water and land, and their compounds, which be mettalls, plants and beasts; for as for the

the fire, I see no speciall matter at the *Indies* which is not in other regions, vnlesse some will say, that the manner to strike fire in rubbing two stones one against another, as some *Indians* vse, or to boyle any thing in gourdes, casting a burning stone into it, and other such like things, are remarkeable, whereof I have written what might be spoken. But of those which are in the *Vulcans* and mouths of fire at the *Indies*, worthy doubtlesse to be observed, I will speake in their order, treating of the diversitie of grounds, whereas they finde these fires or *Vulcans*. Therefore to beginne with the winds, I say, that with good reason, *Salomon* in the great iudgement which God had given him, esteemes much the knowledge of the windes; and their properties, being very admirable; for that some are moyst, others drie, some vnwholesome, others sound, some hote, others colde, some calme and pleasant, others rough and tempestuous, some barren, and others fertile, with infinite other differences. There are some windes which blow in certaine regions, and are, as it were, Lordes thereof, not admitting any entry or communication of their contraries. In some partes they blow in that sorte, as sometimes they are Conquerours, sometimes conquered; often there are diuers and contrary winds, which doe runne together at one instant, dividing the way betwixt them, sometimes one blowing above of one sort, and another below of an other sorte; sometimes they incounter violently one with another, which puts them at sea in great danger: there are some windes which helpe to the generation of creatures, and others that hinder and are opposite. There is a certaine wind, of such a quality, as when it blowes in some country, it causeth it to raine fleas, and in so great aboundaunce, as

I 4 they

they trouble and darken the aire , and cover all the sea shoare : and in other places it raines frogges. These diversities and others which are sufficiently knowne , are commonly attributed to the place by the which these windes passe. For they say, that from these places they take their qualities to be colde, hote, drie or moyst, sickly or sound, and so of the rest, the which is partly true, and cannot be denied; for that in a small distance you shall see in one winde many diversities . For example, the *Solanus* or Easterne winde is commonly hote and troublesome in *Spaine* ; and in *Murria* it is the coolest and healthfullest that is, for that it passeth by the Orchards ; and that large champaine which wee see very fresh. In *Carthagene* which is not farre from thence, the same winde is troublesome and vnwholesome . The meridionall (which they of the Ocean call South, and those of the Mediterranean sea, *Mezo giorno*) commonly is raynie and boisterous, and in the same Citie where of I speake, it is wholesome and pleasant. *Plinie* reports that in *Affricke* it raines with a Northerne winde , and that the Southerne winde is cleere . Hee then that shall well consider what I have spoken of these windes, hee may conceive, that in a smal distance of land or sea, one winde hath many and diverse qualities; yea sometimes quite contrary; whereby we may inferre, that he draweth his property from the place where it passeth , the which is in such sort true (although we may not say infallibly) as it is the onely and principall cause of the diversity of the windes . It is a thing we easely finde, that in a river containing fiftie leagues in circuite (I putte it thus for an example) that the winde which blowes of the one parte, is hote and moyst; and that which blowes on the other, is colde and drie : Notwithstanding this

diver-

diversitie is not found in places by which it passeth, the which makes mee rather to say, that the windes bring these qualities with them, whereby they give vnto them the names of these qualities. For example, we attribute to the Northerne winde, otherwise called *Cierco*, the property to be colde and drie, and to dissolve mists; to the Southerne winde his contrary called *Leuesche*, wee attribute the contrary qualitie, which is moist and hote, and ingenders mists. This being generall and common, we must seeke out another vniversall cause, to give a reason of these effects. It is not enough to say, that the places by which they passe, give them these qualities, seeing that passing by the same places we see contrary effects. So as we must of force confesse, that the region of the heaven where they blowe, gives them these qualities; as the Septentrionall is colde, because it commes from the North, which is the region farthest from the Sunne. The Southerne which blows from the Midday or South, is hote, and for that the heate drawes the vapours, it is also moist and raynie: and contrariwise the north is drie and subtile, for that it suffereth no vapours to congeale. And in this maner wee may discourse of other windes, giving them the qualities of the region where they blowe. But looking more precisely into it, this reason can not satisfie me: I will therefore demaund, What doth the region of the aire by which they passe, if it doth not give them their qualities? I speake it, for that in *Germanie* the Southerne winde is hote and moist, and in *Affrike* the Northerne is cold and drie. Notwithstanding it is most certaine, that in what region soever of *Germanie* the Southerne winde is ingendred, it must needes be more cold then any part of *Affrike* where the Northerne is ingendred.

And

And if it be so, why is the Northerne winde more cold in *Affrike* then the Southerne in *Germany*, seeing it proceeds from a hotter region? Some may answer me that the reason is, for that it blowes from the North, which is colde; but this is neither sufficient, nor true: for if it were so, whenas the Northerne winde blowes in *Affrike*, it should also runne and continue his motion in all the Region, even ynto the North, the which is not so: For at one instant there blowe Northerne windes very colde, in countries that are in fewer degrees; and Southerne winds which are very hotte, in countries lying in more degrees, the which is most certaine, vsuall, and well knowne. Whereby (in my opinion) wee may inferre that it is no pertinent reason to say, that the places by which the winds do passe give them their qualities, or that they be diversified for that they blowe from diuers regions of the ayre, although the one and the other have some reason, as I have said. But it is needefull to seeke further, to knowe the true and originall cause of these so strange differences which we see in the windes. I cannot conceiue any other, but that the same efficient cause which bringeth forth and maketh the winds to grow, dooth withall give them this originall qualitie: for in trueth the matter whereon the windes are made, which is no other thing (according to *Aristotle*) but the exhalation of the interior Elements, may well cause in effect a great parte of this diuersitie, being more grosse, more subtile, more drie, and more moist. But yet this is no pertinent reason, seeing that we see in one region, where the vapours and exhalations are of one sorte and qualitie, that there rise windes and effectes quite contrary. We must therefore referre the cause to the higher and celestiall efficient, which must be the Sunne, and
to

to the motion and influence of the heavens, the which by their contrary motions, give and cause divers influences. But the beginnings of these motions and influences are so obscure and hidden from men, and on the other part, so mighty, and of so great force, as the holie Prophet *David* in his propheticall Spirite, and the Prophet *Jeremie* admiring the greatnes of the Lorde speake thus, *Qui profert ventos de thesauris suis*. He that drawes the windes out of his treasures. In trueth these principles and beginnings are rich and hidden treasures: for the Author of all things holdes them in his hand, and in his power; and when it pleaseth him, sendeth them forth for the good or chastisement of men, and sends forth such windes as hee pleaseth: not as that *Eolus* whome the Poets doe foolishly faine to have charge of the winds, keeping them in a cave like vnto wild beasts. We see not the beginning of these windes, neyther do we know how long they shal continue, or whither they shall goe. But we see and know well the diverse effects and operations they have, even as the supream trueth, the Author of all things hath taught vs, saying, *Spiritus ubi vult spirat, & vocem eius audis, & nescis unde venit, aut quo vadit*. The spirit or winde blowes where it pleaseth, and although thou feelest the breath, yet doost thou not knowe whence it commeth, nor whither it shall goe: To teach vs, that conceiving a little of matters which are present & common vnto vs, wee should not presume to vnderstand that which is so high and so hidden, as the causes and motives of the Holy-ghost. It is therefore sufficient that wee knowe his operations and effectes, the which are plainly discovered in his greatnes and perfections, and to have treated a little philosophically of the windes, and the causes of their differences,

*Psalme 134.
Jeremy. 10.*

ferences, properties, and operations, which wee have produced into three; the place by which they passe, the regions where they blowe, and the celestiall virtue, the beginning and motive of the windes.

Of certaine properties of windes which blowe at the new worlde. CHAP. 3.

IT is a question much disputed by *Aristotle*, whether the Southerne winde, which we call *Abreguo*, blowes from the pole Antartike, or onely from the Equinoctiall line: which is properly to demaund, if beyond the Equinoctiall it holde the same qualitie of hote and rainie, as we see here. It is a point whereof we may with reason stand in doubt, for although it passe the Equinoctiall, yet is it still the Southerne wind, seeing it comes from the same parte of the worlde; as the Northerne winde which comes to the contrary, continues stil the same winde, although it passe the burning Zone and Equinoctiall line. And it seemes hereby, that these two windes should hold their first properties, the one to be hote and moist, the other colde and drie, the South to breede mists and raine, and the North to disperse them, and to make a cleere Skie. Notwithstanding *Aristotle* leanes to the contrary opinion, for that in *Europe* the Northerne winde is colde, because it comes from the Pole, a region extreemely colde, and the Southerne winde contrariwise is hotte, because it comes from the South, which is the region the Sunne dooth most heate. By this reason then we should believe that the South winde should be colde to them that inhabite on the other side of the line, and the Northerne wind should

should be hote, for in those partes the Southerne wind comes from the Pole, & the Northerne from the Line. And though it seemes by this reason, that the Southern winde should be more colde there, than the Northern is heere: for that they holde the region of the South Pole to be more colde then that of the North, by reason that the Sunne stayeth seaven dayes every yeere in the Tropike of *Cancer*, more then it dooth in the Tropicke of *Capricorne*, as it appeareth by the Equinoxes and Solstices he makes in the two Circles, wherein it seemeth, that Nature would shew the preheminence and excellencie of this moiety of the worlde, which is in the North, above the other parte in the South: so as it seemeth there is reason to beleewe that these qualities of the windes doe change in passing the Line; but in trueth it is not so, as I could comprehend by the experience I had some yeeres, being in those partes of the *Indies*, which lie on the South of the other side of the Line.

It is true, that the Northerne winde is not vsually colde and cleere there as heere. In some parts of *Peru*, as at *Lima*, and on the Plaines, they find the Northern windes troublesome and vnwholesome, and all along the coast, which runs above five hundred leagues, they holde the Southerne windes for healthfull and coole, and (which is more) most cleere and pleasant; yea it never raines, contrary to that wee see in *Europe*, and of this side the Line. Yet that which chaunceth vpon the coast of *Peru* is no generall rule, but rather an exception, and a wonder of Nature; neuer to raine vpon that coast, and ever to have one winde, without giving place to his contrary, whereof we will heereafter speake our minde.

Now

Now let vs stand vpon this point, that the Northerne winde beyond the line, hath not the same properties, which the Southerne winde hath on this side, although they both blow from the midday, to regions and parts of the world which be opposite and contrarie. For it is no generall rule there, that the Northerne winde is neither hote nor rainie there, as the South winde is on this side; but contrariwise, it raines whenas the South winde blowes there, as we see in all the *Sierre* or mountaine of *Peru*, in *Chile*, and in the Countrie of *Congo*, which is on the other side of the line, and furre advanced into the Sea. And in *Potozi* likewise, the winde which they call *Tomahani*, (which is our North,) if my memorie faile me not, is extreamely cold, drie, and vnpleasant, as it is heere with vs. Yet doth not the Northerne winde disperse the cloudes vsually there, as it doth heere: but contrariwise, if I be not deceived, it doth often cause rainie. There is no doubt, but the windes do borrow this great diversitie of contrarie effects, from the places by which they passe, and the neere regions where they are bred, as we see by daily experience in a thousand places. But speaking in generall of the qualitie of the windes, we must rather looke to the coastes or partes of the world from whence they proceede, then to observe, whether they be on this side, or beyond the line, as it seemes the Philosopher held opinion. These capitall windes, which be the East, and West, have no such vniversall qualities, nor so common in this continent, nor in the other, as the two former. The *Solanus* or Easterne winde, is commonly here troublesome & vnholosome, & the Westerne or *Zephirus*, is more milde and healthfull. At the *Indies*, and in all the burning Zone, the Easterne winde which

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which they call *Brise*, is contrariwise very healthfull and pleasant. Of the West, I cannot speake any thing certaine or generall, for that it blowes not at all, or very seldome in the burning Zone, for in all the navigation betwixt the two Tropikes, the Easterne winde is ordinary. And for that it is one of the admirable workes of Nature, it shall be good to vnderstand the cause and the beginning thereof.

That the burning Zone, the Briscs, or Easterly windes, do continually blowe, and without the Zone the westerne, and that the Easterly are ordinarie alwaies there. C H A P. 4.

THE waies at Sea are not as at Land, to returne the sameway they passe. It is all one way (saith the Philosopher) from *Athens* to *Thebes*, and from *Thebes* to *Athens*; but it is not so at Sea, for we go one way, and returne by another. The first which discovered the East and west *Indies*, laboured much with great difficultie to finde out their course, vntill that Experience (the mistress of these secrets,) had taught them, that to saile through the Ocean, is not like the passage in *Italie*, through the Mediterranean sea, where in their returne, they observe the same Ports and Capes they had sight of in their passage, attending still the benefite of the winde, which changeth instantly, and when that failes, they have recourse to their owers; and so the Gallies go and come daily, coasting along the shoare. In some partes of the Ocean, they may not looke for any other winde then that which blowes, for that commonly it continues long. To conclude, that which is good to

*Juan de Gacoz
in Decade. 1. li.
4. ca. 6.*

go by, is not fit to returne with : for in the sea beyond the Tropicke, and within the burning Zone, the Easterly windes raine continually, not suffering their contraries. In the which region, there are two strange things, the one is, that in that Zone, (being the greatest of the five, into the which the world is divided,) the Easterly windes (which they call *Bris'es*) do raine, not suffering the Westerne or Southerne, (which they call lower windes,) to have their course at any season of the yeere : The other wonder is, that these Easterly windes never cease to blow, and most commonly in places neereſt to the line, (where it seemes that calmes should be more frequent, being a part of the world, most subiect to the heate of the Sunne, but it is contrarie, for you shall hardly finde any calmes there, and the winde is cold and continues longer, which hath been found true in all the navigations of the *Indies*. This is the reason, why the voyage they make from *Spaine* to the West *Indies* is shorter, more easie, and more assured, then the returne to *Spaine*. The fleetes parting from *Seville*, have more difficultie to passe the *Canaries*, for that the gulph of *Yegues* or of *Mares*, is variable, being beaten with divers windes, but having passed the *Canaries*, they saile with a westerne winde vntill they come to the burning Zone, where presently they finde an Easterly winde, and so they saile on with full windes, so as they have scant any neede to touch their sailes in the whole voiage : for this reason they called this great gulph, the gulph of *Dances* for the calmenes and pleasantnes thereof. Then following their course, they come to the Ilands of *Guadelupe* *Dominique*, *Desiree*, *Mariguabante*, and the rest, which in that place, be as it were, the suburbs of the *Indies*. There the fleetes sepe-

rate

rate and divide themselves, whereof some (which go to new *Spaine*,) take to the right hand towards *Hispaniola*; and having discovered Cape *S. Anthony*, they passe vnto *S. Ihon Delua*, alwaies vsing the same Easterly windes. Those for the maine Land, take the left hand, discovering the high mountaine of *Tayrone*, then having touched at *Carthagene*, they passe vnto *Nombre de Dios*, from whence they go by land to *Panama*, and from thence, by the South sea to *Pern*. But when the fleetes returne to *Spaine*, they make their voiage in this fort: The fleete of *Pern* discovers Cape *S. Anthony*, then they enter into the *Havana*, which is a goodly Port in the Iland of *Cuba*. The fleete of new *Spaine*, doth likewise touch at the *Havana*, being parted from the true Crosse, or from the Iland of *S. Ihon Delua*, the which is not without difficultie, for that commonly Easterly windes blow there, which is a contrarie winde to go to the *Havana*. These fleetes being ioyned together for *Spaine*, they seeke their height without the Tropicks, where presently they finde Westerly winds, which serve them vntill they come in view of the *Acores*, or *Terceres*, and from thence to *Seville*. So as their voiage in going, is of a small height, not above twentie degrees from the line, which is within the Tropickes. But the returne is without the Tropickes, in eight and twentie or thirtie degrees of height at the least, for that within the Tropickes, the Easterne winds continually blow, the which are fittest to go from, *Spaine* to the *West Indies*, for that their course is, from East to west, and without the Tropickes, (which is in three and twentie degrees of height,) they finde westerly winds, the which are the more certaine and ordinarie, the farther you are from the line, and more fit to returne

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from

from the *Indies*, for that they are windes blowing from the South and West, which serve to runne into the East and North. The like discourse is of the Navigation made into the South sea, going from new *Spaine*, or *Peru*, to the *Philippines* or *China*, and returning from the *Philippines* or *China* to new *Spaine*, the which is easie, for that they saile alwaies from East to West, neere the line, where they finde the Easterly windes to blow in their poope. In the yeere 1584. there went a shippe from *Calloa* in *Lima* to the *Philippines*, which sailed 2000. and 700. leagues without sight of land, and the first it discovered, was the Iland of *Lusson*, where they tooke port, having performed their voiage in two moneths, without want of winde or any torment, and their course was almost continually vnder the line, for that from *Lima* (which is twelve degrees to the South) he came to *Menilla*, which is as much to the North. The like good fortune had *Alvaro de Mandana*, whenas he went to discover the Ilands of *Soloman*, for that he had alwaies a full gale, vntill he came within view of these Ilands, the which must be distant from that place of *Peru*, from whence he parted, about a thousand leagues, having runne their course alwaies in one height to the South. The returne is like vnto the voiage from the *Indies* vnto *Spaine*: for those which returne from the *Philippines* or *China* to *Mexico*, to the end they may recover the Westerne windes, they mount a great height, vntill they come right against the Ilands of *Iappon*, and discovering the *Caliphornes*, they returne by the coast of new *Spaine*, to the Port of *Acapulco*, from whence they parted. So as it is proved likewise by this navigation, that they saile easily from East to West, within the Tropickes, for that their

Easterly

Easterly windes do raine : but returning from West to East , they must seeke the Westerne windes without the Tropickes , in the height of seven and twentie degrees. The Portingales prove the like in their navigations to the East *Indies* , although it be in a contrarie course; for that going from *Portugall* the voiage is troublesome, but their returne is more easie, for that in going, their course is from the West to the East: so as they must of necessitie mount , vntill they have found their generall windes , which they hold to be above the seven and twentieth degree . And in their returne , they discover the *Terceres* , but with more ease, for that they come from the East , where the Easterly or Northerne windes do serve them. Finally, the Marriners hold it for a certaine rule and observation, that within the Tropickes continually raine Easterly windes, and therefore it is very easie to saile to the West. But without the Tropickes , there are in some seasons Easterly windes, and in some , and more ordinarie Westerne windes: by reason whereof, they which saile from West to East, labour alwaies to be out of of the burning Zone , to put themselves in the height of seven and twentie degrees. And for this reason, men have indangered themselves to vndertake strange Navigations , and to seeke out farre Countries vnknowne.

Of the differences of the Brises or Easterne windes , and the Westerne , and likewise of other windes.

CHAP. 5.

ALthough that which we have spoken, be generall and well approoved , yet there remains still a desire in me to learne the cause of this secret ; why vnder

the burning Zone we saile alwaies from East to Weast, with so great facilitie, and not from Weast to East: Which is as much as if wee should demaund, why the Easterly windes raine there, and not the Weasterly, for that according to good Philosophie, that which is perpetuall, vniversall, and of it selfe (as the Philosophers say) must have a proper cause, and of it selfe. But before I stay at this question, which seemes remarkeable, it shal be necessary to shew what we vnderstand by *Bris- ses* or Easterly windes, and Weasterly, for that it will serve much for this subiect, and for many other matters touching windes and navigations. The Pilotes make two and thirty poynts of windes, for that to bring their ship to the desired haven, they must make their account as punctually and as strictly as they can; for bending to the one side, or the other, never so little, in the end of their course, they should finde themselves farre from their pretended place. And they reckon but twoo and thirty quarters of the windes, for that more woulde confound the memorie. But with reckoning as they accompt two and thirty windes, so may they reckon, three score and foure, one hundred twenty and eight, and two hundred fifty and six. Finally, multiply these partes to an infinite, for the place where the shippe is, being as it were the centre, and all hemisphere in circumference, what should let, but wee may accompt lines without number, the which comming from this centre, drawe directly to these lineall circles in so many partes, which might cause as many diuerse windes, seeing that the winde comes from all partes of the hemisphere, which we may divide into as many parts as we will imagine, yet the wisdom of man, conformable to the holy Scripture, observes foure windes, the principal

ball of all others, and as it were the foure corners of the worlde, the which they ioyne in making a crosse with two lines, whereof the one goes from one Pole to another; and the other from one Equinoctiall to the other. Of the one side the North or *Aquilon*, and the Southerne winde or mid-day opposite; and on the other side the East, which comes from the Sunne rising, and the Weast from his setting. And although the holy Scripture in some places speakes of other diversities of windes, as of *Eurus* and *Aquilon*, which those in the Ocean sea call *Nordest*, & they of the mediterranean sea, *Gregual*, whereof there is mention made in *Saint Pauls* navigation; yet the same holy Scripture makes mention of those foure notable windes, which all the worlde knowes, which are as is saide, North, South, East and Weast.

But for that we finde three differences in the rising of the Sunne, from whence the name of East comes, that is, the two greatest declinings which he doth usually make, and the meane betwixt them both, as hee dooth rise in diuerse places, in winter, in summer, and in that which holdes the middle of these two seasons. For this reason they have reckoned two other windes, the East of summer, and the East of winter; and by consequence, two Weasts, the one of summer, and the other of winter, their contraries. So as there are eight windes in eight notable poyntes of heaven, which are the two Poles, the two Equinoxes, the two Solstices, and their opposites in the same Circle, the which are called by diuers names and appellations in every place of the sea and land. Those which saile the Ocean, doe usually call them thus. They give the name of North to those windes that blowe from our Pole, which carri-

eth the same name, and Northeast that which is neereſt, and comes from the ſummer Eaſt : They call Eaſt that which comes directly from the riſing Equinoctiall, and Southeaſt that which comes from the winter riſing. To the Mid-day or Pole Antartike they give the name of Southweſt; and to that of the winters ſetting, the name of Southweſt, to the right ſetting Equinoctiall the name of Weſt, and to the ſummers ſetting, Northweaſt. They divide amongſt them the reſt of the winds, and give them their names as they participate and approach to others : as North-northweaſt, North-northeaſt, Eaſt-northeaſt, Eaſt-ſoutheaſt, South-ſouthweaſt, Weaſt-ſouthweſt, Weaſt-norweſt; ſo as by their names we know whence they proceed. In the Mediterranean ſea, although they follow the ſame diſiſion and maner of reckoning, yet doe they give them other different names; they call the North *Tramontana*, and his contrary, the South *Mezo-giorno*, or *Mydy*; the Eaſt they call *Levant*, and the Weaſt *Povant* : and thoſe which croſſe theſe foure they call thus : Southeaſt is by them named *Xirocque*, or *Xaloque*, and his oppoſite, which is Norweſt; *Meſtrall* they call the northeaſt. *Grec* or *Greguall*; and the Southweaſt his contrary; *Leveſche*, *Libique*, or *Affricaine*. In Latine the foure knowne winds be, *Septentrio*, *Auſter*, *Subſolanus*, *Favonius*; and thoſe which be interlaced are *Aquilo*, *Vulturnus*, *Affricus* and *Corus*; according vnto *Plinie*, *Vulturnus* and *Eurus*, is the ſame winde that Southeaſt or *Xaloque*, *Favonius* is the Weaſt or *Ponent*, *Aquilo* and *Boreas* is Northeſt or *Gregual*, or *Tramontana*, *Affricus* and *Libique* is the Southweaſt or *Leveſche*, *Auſter* and *Notus* is the South Midday, *Corus* and *Zephirus* the Northweſt or *Meſtral*; and to the Northeaſt or *Gregual*, they give no other name

name then *Phenicien*. Some divide them after an other maner; but for that it is not now our purpose to repeate the Latine and Greeke names of all the windes, lette vs onely shew which be those amongst these windes, that the Mariners of the Indian Ocean call *Brises*, and lower winds. I was long in some difficulty about these names, seeing them to vse them very diuersly, vntill I found that these names were more generall, then proper and peculiar. They call *Brises* those which serve to goe to the *Indies*, the which blowe in their poope, which by this meanes comprehend all the Easterly windes, and those which depend of them. And they do call lower windes those which are fitte to returne from the *Indies*, which blowe from the South to the summer-weast, so as they be, as it were, two Esquadrons of windes of eyther side, the Corporalles be of one side Northeast or *Greguall*, on the other Southwest or *Leuesche*. But you must vnderstand, that of the number of eight windes and differences which we have counted, five are proper to saile by, and not the other three. I say, that when a ship sailes at sea, he may make a long voyage with one of these windes, although they serve him not equally; but he cannot vse any of the other three. As if a shippe goe to the South, he shall saile with the North, Northeast, Northwest, and with East and Weast: for side-windes serve to goe, or to come. But with a Southerne wind he cannot saile, being directly contrary, nor with with his two Collaterals which is Southeast and Southwest, which is a very triviall thing, & common to them that saile. And therefore it is not needefull to explaine them heere, but to signifie that the side-windes of the right East, are those which commonly blow to the burning Zone, which they doe call *Brises*: and those from

the South declining to the Weast, which serve to saile from Weast to East, are not common in the burning Zone; and therefore they seeke them without the tropikes; and the Indian Mariners commonly call them lower windes, or *Vents d'abas*.

What is the reason why sailing vnder the burning Zone, we finde alwayes Easterly windes? CHAP. 6.

LET vs now speake of that which toucheth the Question propounded, what should be the reason whie vnder the burning Zone wee saile easily from East to Weast, and not contrary: wherein we must presuppose two certaine groundes. The one is, that the motion of the first moover, which they call Diurnall, not onelie drawes and mooves with him the celestiaall spheares, which are inferiour vnto him, as wee see daily in the sunne, the moone, and the starres, but also the Elements do participate of this motion, insomuch as they are not hindered. The earth is not mooved, by reason of her heavinesse, which makes it inmooveable, being far from this first motor. The element of water moves not likewise with this Diurnall motion, for that it is vnited to the earth and make one sphere, so as the earth keeps it from all circular motion. But th'other two elements of fire & aire, are more subtil and neerer the heavenly regions, so as they participate of their motion, and are driven about circularly, as the same celestiaall bodies. As for the fire, without doubt it hath his sphere, (as Aristotle and other Philosophers have held) but for the aire (which is no point of our subiect) it is most certaine that it mooves with a motion diurnall, which is from

from East to Weast, which we see plainly in Comets that moove from the East vnto the Weast, mounting, descending, and finally turning in the hemisphære in the same sort as the Starres move in the firmament; for otherwise these Comets being in the region & sphere of the aire, whereas they ingender, appears consum'd. It should be impossible for them to moove circularly, as they doe, if the element of the aire doth not moove with the same motion that the first motor dooth. For these elements being of a burning substance, by reason they should be fixt, without mooving circularly, if the sphere where they are did not moove, if it be not as we saine, that some Angell or intellectuall Spirite dooth walke with the Comet, guiding it circularly. In the yeere of our Lord God one thousand five hundred seauenty and seauen appeered that wonderfull Comet, (in forme like vnto a feather) from the horizon almost to the middest of heaven, and continued from the first of November, vntill the eight of December: I say from the first of November, for although in *Spaine* it was noted but the ninth of November (according to the testimony of Writers of that time) yet at *Peru*, where I was then, I remember well, we did see it, and observe it eight dayes before, and all the time after. Touching the cause of this diversity, some may dilate vpon it particularly, I will onely shew, that during those fourtie dayes which it continued, we all observed (both such as were in *Spaine*, and we that lived then at the *Indies*) that it mooved daily with an vniverfall motion, from East to Weast, as the Moone and other Planets, whereby it appeeres that the sphere of the aire, being its Region, the element it selfe must of necessity moove after the same sort. We noted also, that besides this vniverfall

verfall motion, it had an other particular, by which it moved with the planets fro west to east; for every night it turned more Eastward, like vnto the Moone, Sunne, and Planet of *Venus*. Wee did also observe a third particular motion, whereby it mooved from the zodiacke towards the North; for after some nights it was found neerer vnto the Septentrionall signes. And it may be this was the reason why the great Comet was sooner seene by those that were southerly, as at *Peru*, and later discovered by them of *Europe*: for by this third motion (as I have saide) it approached neerer the Northerne Regions. Yet every one may well observe the differences of this motion, so as wee may well perceive, that many and sundry celestiall bodies, give their impressions to the sphere of the aire. In like sorte it is most certaine that the ayre mooves with the circular motion of the heaven, from East to West, which is the first ground before mentioned. The second is no lesse certaine, the which is, that the motion of the aire in those parts that are vnder the Line, or neere vnto it, is very swift and light, the more it approacheth to the Equinoctiall; but the farther off it is from the Line, approching neere the Poles, the more slowe and heauey this motion is. The reason heereof is manifest, for that the mooving of the celestiall bodies, being the efficient cause of the mooving of the ayre; it must of necessitie be more quicke and light, where the celestiall bodies have their swiftest motion.

To labour to shew the reason why the heaven hath a quicker motion vnder the burning Zone, which is the Line, then in any other part of the heaven, were to make small account of men: seeing it is easie to see in a wheele, that its motion is more slowe and heauey in the
part

part of greatest circumference, then in the lesse, and that the greater circumference ends at one instant with the lesser. From these two grounds proceedes the reason, where such as saile great gulphs from east to west, doe alwayes finde the winde in their powpe, going in a small altitude, and the neerer they come to the Equinoctiall, the more certaine and durable the winde is. And contrariwise, sailing from west to east, they alwayes finde the winde contrary; for that the swift motion of the Equinoctiall drawes after it the element of the aire, as it doth the surplus of the higher spheares. So as the aire dooth alwayes follow the motion of the day. Going from east to west, without any alteration, and the motion of the aire being swift, draweth after it all the vapours and exhalations which rise from the sea, which causeth in those Regions a continuall easterly winde, which runnes from the *Levant*. Father *Alonso Sanchez* a religious man, and of our company, who hath travelled the east and west *Indies*, as a man ingenious, and of experience, said, that sailing vnder the Line, or neere vnto it, with a continued and durable season, it seemed to him to be the same aire, mooved by the heaven the which guided the ships, and was not properly a winde nor exhalation, but an aire moved with the daily course of the sunne: for prooffe whereof he shewed, that the season is alwayes equall, and alike at the gulph of *Dannees*: and in other great gulphes where wee saile vnder the burning Zone, by reason whereof their sailes are alwayes of one fashion, without any blustering, having no neede, in a manner, to change them in all their course. And if the ayre were not mooved by the heavens, it might sometimes saile, sometimes change to the contrary, and sometimes there would grow some stormes.

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Although this be learnedly spoken, yet can we not deny it to be a winde, seeing there are vapours and exhalations of the sea; and that we sometimes see the *Brisé* or easterly winds stronger, sometimes more weak, and placed in that sort, as sometimes they can hardly carry all their sailes. We must then know (and it is true) that the aire mooved, draweth vnto it the vapours it findes, for that the force is great, and findes no resistance, by reason whereof the easterne and weasterne windes are continuall, and in a maner alwayes alike, in those parts which are neere the Line, and almost vnder all the burning zone, which is the course the Sunne followes betwixt the two circles of *Cancer* and *Capricorne*.

Why without the Zone, in a greater altitude, wee finde alwayes westerly windes. CHAP. 7.

WHoso would neerely looke into what hath bin spoken, may likewise vnderstand, that going from the west to the east, in altitude beyond the Tropikes, we shall finde westerne windes, for that the motion of the Equinoctiall being so swift, it is a cause that the ayre mooveth vnder it according to this motion, which is from east to west, drawing after it the vapors and exhalations that rise of either side the Equinoctial or burning zone, incountring the course and motion of the zone, are forced by the repercussion to returne almost to the contrary, whence growe the southweast winds so ordinary in those parts. Even as we see in the course of waters, the which (if they be incountring by others of more force,) returne in a maner backe. So it seemes to be like in vapours and exhalations, whereby growes

it growes that the windes doe turne and separate themselves from one part to another. These westerly winds do commonly raine in a meane altitude, which is from twenty and seeven to thirty and seven degrees, though they be not so certaine nor so regular as the *Brisfes* that are in a lesse altitude. The reason is, for that the south-west windes are no causes of this proper and equal motion of the heaven, as the *Brisfes* are, being neere to the Line. But (as I have said) they are more ordinarie, and often more furious and tempestuous. But passing into a greater altitude, as of fortie degrees, there is as small assurance of windes at sea as at land; for sometimes the east or north winde blowes, and sometimes the south, or weast: whereby it happeneth their navigations are more vncertaine, and more dangerous.

Of the exceptions to the foresaid Rules, and of the Windes and Calmes both at Land and at Sea. CHAP. 8.

THat which we have spoken of winds, which blow ordinarilie within and without the Zone, must be vnderstood of the maine Sea, and in the great gulphes; for at land it is otherwise, where we finde all sorts of windes, by reason of the inequality which is betwixt the mountaines and the vallies; the great number of Rivers and Lakes, and the divers scituations of Countries, whence the grosse and thicke vapors arise, which are moved from the one part or the other, according to the diversitie of their beginnings, which cause these divers windes the motion of the aire, caused by the heaven having not power enough, to draw and move them with it. And this varietie of windes is
not

not onely found at land, but also vpon the sea coast, which is vnder the burning Zone, for that there be foraine or land windes which come from the land, and many which blow from the sea; the which windes from the sea, are commonly more wholesome and more pleasant then those of the land, which are contrariwise troublesome and vnwholesome, although it be the difference of the coast that causeth this diuersitie: commonly the land windes blow from mid-night to the sunne rising, and the sea windes vntill sunne setting. The reason perhaps may be, that the earth, as a grosse substance, fumes more whenas the sunne shines not vpon it, even as greene wood, or scarce drie, smoakes most when the flame is quenched. But the sea, which is compounded of more subtile partes, engenders no fumes, but when it is hote, even as straw or haie, being moist and in small quantitie, breedes smoake when it is burnt, and when the flame failes, the fume suddenly ceaseth. Whatsoever it be, it is certaine that the land winde blowes by night, and that of the sea by day. So that even as there are often contrarie, violent, and tempestuous windes vpon the sea coast, so do we see very great calmes. Some men of great experience report, that having sailed many great passages at sea vnder the line, yet did they never see any calmes, but that they alwaies make way little or much, the aire being moved by the celestiall motion, which is sufficient to guide a ship, blowing in poope, as it doth. I have already said, that a ship of *Lima* going to *Manilla*, sailed two thousand seven hundred leagues, alwaies vnder the line, or not above twelve degrees from it, and that in the months of Februarie and March, whenas the sunne is there for Zenith, and in all this space they found no calmes

calmes, but alwaies a fresh gale, so as in two moneths they performed this great voyage. But in the burning Zone and without it, you shall vsually see great calmes vpon the coastes, where the vapors come from the Ilands, or maine land. And therefore stormes and tempestes, and the suddaine motions of the aire, are more certaine and ordinarie vpon the coastes, whereas the vapors come from the land, then in full sea, I meane vnder the burning Zone, for without it and at sea, there are both calmes and whirlwindes. Notwithstanding, sometimes betwixt the two Tropicks, yea, vnder the line, you shall have great raine and suddaine showers, yea, farre into the sea; for the working whereof, the vapors and exhalations of the sea, are sufficient, which moving sometimes hastily in the aire, cause thunder and whirlwindes, but this is more ordinarie neere to the land, and vpon the land. When I sailed from *Pern* to new *Spaine*, I observed, that all the time we were vpon the coast of *Pern*, our voiage was (as it was ordinary,) very calme and easie, by reason of the Southerne winde that blowes, having alwaies a fore winde, returning from *Spaine* and new *Spaine*. As we passed the gulph, lanching farther into the sea, almost vnder the line, we found the season coole, quiet, and pleasant, with a full winde, but comming neere to *Nicaragua*, and to all that coast, we had contrarie windes, with great store of raine and fogges. All this navigation was vnder the burning Zone: for from twelve degrees to the South, which is *Lima*, wee sailed to the seventeenth, which is *Gautulco*, a port of new *Spaine*: and I beleeeve, that such as have observed their navigations, made vnder the burning Zone, shall finde what I have said, which may suffice for the windes which raine at sea, vnder the burning Zone.

of

*of some mervellous effects of the windes, which are in
some partes of the Indies.* CHAP. 9.

IT were a very difficult matter, to report particularly the admirable effectes which some windes cause in divers regions of the world, and to give a reason thereof. There are windes, which naturally trouble the water of the sea, and makes it greene and blacke, others cleere as Cristall, some comfort and make glad, others trouble and breede heavines. Such as nourish silke-wormes, have great care to shut their windowes, when-as the South-west windes do blow, and to open them to the contrarie: having found by certaine experience, that their wormes diminish and die with the one, and fatten and become better with the other; and who so will neerely observe it, shall finde in himselfe, that the diversities of windes, cause notable impressions and changes in the bodie, principally in sicke partes and ill disposed, when they are most tender and weake. The holy scripture calleth one a burning winde, another, a winde full of dew and sweetnes. And it is no wonder if wee see such notable effects of the windes, in plants, beasts, and men, seeing that we see it visibly in yron, which is the hardest of all mettalls. I have seene grates of yron in some partes of the *Indies*, so rusted and consumed, that pressing it betwixt your fingers, it dissolved into powder, as if it had been hay or parched straw, the which proceedes only from the winde which doth corrupt it, having no meanes to withstand it. But leaving apart many other great and notable effects, I will onely make mention of two. The one, although it causeth pangs grater then death it selfe, yet doth it not breede

*Ex. c. 10. & 14.
Job. 17.
Joan. 4.
Osee. 13.
Dan. 3.*

breede any further inconvenience. The other takes away life without feeling of it. The sicknes of the sea, wherewith such are troubled as first begin to go to sea, is a matter very ordinary; and yet if the nature thereof were vnknowne to men, we should take it for the pangs of death, seeing how it afflicts and torments while it doth last, by the casting of the stomacke, paine of the head, and other troubleosome accidents. But in trueth this sicknes so common and ordinarie, happens vnto men by the change of the aire and sea. For although it be true that the motion of the shippe helps much, in that it moves more or lesse: and likewise the infections and ill favors of things in the shippe: yet the proper and naturall cause, is the aire and the vapors of the sea, the which doth so weaken and trouble the body and the stomacke, which are not accustomed therunto, that they are wonderfully moved and changed: for the aire is the Element, by which wee live and breathe, drawing it into our entrailles, the which we bathe therewithall. And therefore there is nothing that so suddenly, and with so great force doth alter vs, as the change of the aire we breathe, as we see in those which die of the plague. It is approved by many experiences, that the aire of the sea, is the chiefe cause of this strange indisposition; the one is, that when there blowes from the sea a strong breath, we see them at the land as it were sea-sicke, as I my selfe have often found. Another is, the farther we go into the sea, and retyre from land, the more we are touched and dazeled with this sicknes. Another is, that coasting along any Iland, and after lanching into the maine, we shall there finde the aire more strong. Yet will I not deny, but the motion and agitation may cause this sicknes, seeing that

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we see some are taken therewith passing rivers in Barkes: others in like sort going in Coches and Carosses, according to the divers complexions of the stomacke: as contrariwise, there are some, how boisterous and troublesome soever the sea be, doe never feele it. Wherefore it is a matter certaine, & tried, that the aire of the sea, doth commonly cause this effect in such as newly go to sea. I thought good to speake this, to shew a strange effect, which happens in some partes of the *Indies*, where the ayre & the wind that rains make men dazie, not lesse, but more then at sea. Some hold it for a fable, others say it is an addition: for my part I will speake what I have tried. There is in *Peru*, a high mountaine which they call *Pariacaca*, and having heard speake of the alteration it bred, I went as well prepared as I could. according to the instructions which was given me, by such as they call *Vaguianos* or expert men: but notwithstanding all my provison, when I came to mount the degrees, as they call them, which is the top of this mountaine, I was suddenly surprized with so mortall and strange a pang, that I was ready to fall from the top to the ground: and although we were many in company, yet every one made haste (without any tarrying for his companion,) to free himselfe speedily from this ill passage. Being then alone with one Indian, whom I intreated to helpe to stay me, I was surprised with such pangs of straining & casting, as I thought to cast vp my heart too; for having cast vp meate, fleugme, & choller, both yellow and Greene; in the end I cast vp blood, with the straining of my stomacke. To conclude, if this had continued, I should vndoubtedly have died; but this lasted not above three or foure houres, that we were come into a more convenient and naturall temperature,

Historie of the Indies. lib.3. 146

nature, where all our companions (being foueteene or fiftene) were much wearied. Some in the passage demaunded confession, thinking verily to die; others left the ladders and went to the ground, beeing overcome with casting, and going to the stoole: and it was tolde me, that some have lost their lives there with this accident. I beheld one that did beate himselfe against the earth, crying out for the rage and grieve which this passage of *Pariacaca* hadde caused. But commonly it dooth no important harme, onely this, paine and troublesome distaste while it endures: and not onely the passage of *Pariacaca* hath this propertie, but also all this ridge of the mountaine, which runnes above five hundred leagues long, and in what place soever you passe, you shall finde strange intemperatures, yet more in some partes then in other, and rather to those which mount from the sea, then from the plaines. Besides *Pariacaca*, I have passed it by *Lucanas* and *Soras*; in another place, by *Colleguas*, and by *Cavanas*. Finally, by foure different places, going and comming, and alwaies in this passage I have felt this alteration, although in no place so strongly, as at the first in *Pariacaca*, which hath beene tried by all such as have passed it. And no doubt but the winde is the cause of this intemperature and strange alteration, or the aire that raignes there. For the best remedy (and all they finde) is to stoppe their noses, their eares, and their mouthes, as much as may be, and to cover themselves with cloathes, especially the stomacke, for that the ayre is subtile and piercing, going into the entrailes, and not onely men feele this alteration, but also beasts that sometimes stay there, so as there is no spurre can make them goe forward. For my part I holde this place to be one of the highest parts of land

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in the worlde; for we mount a wonderfull space. And in my opinion, the mountaine *Neuade* of *Spaine*, the *Pirenees*, and the *Alpes* of *Italie*, are as ordinarie houſes, in regarde of hie Towers. I therefore perſwade my ſelfe, that the element of the aire is there ſo ſubtile and delicate, as it is not proportionable with the breathing of man, which requires a more groſſe and temperate aire, and I beleeve it is the cauſe that doth ſo much alter the ſtomacke, & trouble all the diſpoſition. The paſſages of the mountaines *Neuade*, and other of *Europe*, which I have ſeene, although the aire be colde there, and doth force men to weare more clothes, yet this colde doth not take away the appetite from meate, but contrariwiſe it provokes; neyther dooth it cauſe any caſting of the ſtomacke, but onely ſome paine in the feete and handes. Finally, their operation is outward. But that of the *Indies*, whereof I ſpeake (without moleſting of foote or hand, or any outward parte) troubles all the entrailes within: and that, which is more admirable, when the ſunne is hote, which maketh mee imagine, that the grieve wee feele comes from the qualitie of the aire which wee breathe: Therefore that is moſt ſubtile and delicate, whoſe colde is not ſo ſenſible, as piercing. All this ridge of mountains is, for the moſt part, deſart, without any villages or habitations for men, ſo as you ſhall ſcarce finde any ſmall cotages to lodge ſuch as do paſſe by night: there are no beaſts, good or bad, but ſome *Vicunos*, which are their countrey muttons, and have a ſtrange and wonderfull property, as I ſhall ſhew in his place. The graſſe is often burnt, and all blacke with the aire, and this deſart runnes five and twenty or thirty leagues overthwart, and in length above five hundred leagues: There are other deſarts or places inhabited,

habited, which at *Peru* they call *Pumas* (speaking of the second poynt we promised) where the quallitie of the ayre cutteth off mans life without feeling. In former time the Spaniardes went from *Peru*, to the realme of *Chille* by this mountaine, but at this day they do passe commonly by sea, and sometimes alongst the side of it. And though that way be laborious and troublesome, yet is there not so great daunger as by the mountaine, where there are Plaines, on the which many men have perished and died, and sometimes have scaped by great happe, whereof some have remained lame. There runs a small breath, which is not very strong nor violent, but proceedes in such sorte, that men fall downe dead, in a manner without feeling, or at the least, they loose their feete and handes: the which may seeme fabulous, yet is it most true.

I have knowne and frequented long the Gennerrall *Ieronez Costilla*, the auntient peopler of *Cusco*, who had lost three or foure toes, which fell off in passing the desert of *Chille*, being perished with this aire, and when he came to looke on them, they were dead, and fell off without any paine, even as a rotten Apple falleth from the tree. This Captaine reported, that of a good army which hee had conducted by that place, in the former yeeres, since the discoverie of this kingdome by *Almagro*, a great part of the men remained dead there, whose bodies he found lying in the desert, without any stink or corruption; adding therunto one thing very strange, that they found a yong boy alive, and being examined how hee had lived in that place, hee saide, that hee laie hidden in a little cave, whence hee came to cutte the flesh of a dead horse with a little knife, and thus had he nourished himselfe a long time, with I know not how

many companions that lived in that sort, but now they were all dead, one dying this day, and another to morrow, saying that hee desired nothing more then to die there with the rest, seeing that he found not in himselfe any disposition to goe to any other place, nor to take any taste in any thing. I have vnderstoode the like of others, and particularly of one that was of our company, who being then a Secular man, had passed by these deserts: and it is a strange thing, the qualitie of this colde aire, which killes, and also preserves the dead bodies without corruption. I have also vnderstoode it of a reverend religious man, of the Order of Saint *Deminike*, and Prelate thereof, who hadde seene it passing by the deserts: and which is strange, hee reported, that travelling that way by night, was forced to defend himselfe against that deadly winde which blowes there (having no other meanes) but to gather together a great number of those dead bodies that lay there, and made thereof, as it were, a rampire and a bolster for his head: in this manner did he sleepe, the dead bodies giving him life. Without doubt this is a kinde of cold so piercing, that it quencheth the vitall heate, cutting off his influence; and being so exceeding colde, yet doth not corrupt nor give any putrifaction to the dead bodies, for that putrifaction groweth from heate and moistnesse. As for the other kinde of ayre which thunders vnder the earth, and causeth earthquakes, more at the *Indies*, then in any other Regions, I wil speake thereof in treating the qualities of the land at the *Indies*. We wil content our selves now with what wee have spoken of the wind and aire, and passe to that which is to be spoken of the water.

*Of the Ocean that invirones the Indies, and of the North
and South Seas.* CHAP. IO.

Amongst all waters the Ocean is the principall, by which the *Indies* have beene discovered, and are invironed therewith; for either they be Ilands of the Ocean sea, or maine land, the which wheresoever it ends, is bounded with this Ocean. To this day they have not discovered at the *Indies* any mediterranean sea, as in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Affrike*, into the which there enters some arme of this great sea, and makes distinct seas, taking their names from the Provinces they bathe: and almost all the mediterranean Seas continue and ioyned together, and with the Ocean it selfe, by the straight of *Gibraltar*, which the Ancients called, the Pillers of *Hercules*, although the red sea beeing separated from the mediterranean seas, enters alone into the Indian Ocean; and the Caspian sea ioynes not with any other: so that at the *Indies* wee finde not anie other sea then this Ocean, which they divide into two, the one they call the north sea, and the other the south; for that the *Indies* which were first discovered by the Ocean, and reacheth vnto *Spaine*, lies all to the north, and by that land there-after discovered a sea on the other side, the which they called the South sea, for that they decline vntill they have passed the Line: and having lost the North, or Pole articke, they called it South. For this cause they have called all that Ocean the South sea, which lieth on the other side of the East *Indies*, although a great part of it be seated to the north; as al the coast of new *Spaine*, *Nuaragna*, *Guatimala* and *Panama*. They say, that hee that first discovered this sea, was called *Blasconunes* of

Bilbo, the which he did by that part which we now call maine land, where it growes narrow, and the two seas approach so neere the one to the other, that there is but seaven leagues of distance: for although they make the way eightene from *Nombre de Dios*, to *Panama*, yet is it with turning to seeke the comoditie of the way, but drawing a direct line, the one sea shall not be found more distant from the other. Some have discoursed and propounded to cut through this passage of seaven leagues, and to ioyn one sea to the other, to make the passage from *Peru* more commodious and easie, for that these eightene leagues of land betwixt *Nombre de Dios* and *Panama*, is more painefull and chargeable then 2300. by sea, wherevpon some would say, it were a meanes to drowne the land, one sea being lower then another. As in times past we finde it written, that for the same consideration, they gave over the enterprize to win the red sea into *Nile*, in the time of King *Sesostris*, and since, in the Empire of the *Othomans*. But for my part, I hold such discourses and propositions for vaine, although this inconvenient should not happen, the which I will not hold for assured. I beleieve there is no humaine power able to beat and breake downe those strong and impenetrable mountaines, which God hath placed betwixt the two seas, and hath made them most hard rockes, to withstand the furie of two seas. And although it were possible to men, yet in my opinion they should feare punishment from heaven, in seeking to correct the workes; which the Creator by his great providence hath ordained and disposed in the framing of this vniversall world. Leaving this discourse of opening the land; and ioyning both seas together, there is yet another lesse rash, but very difficult

Herodotus.

Strabo.

cult and dangerous to search out. Whether these two great gulphes do ioyne in any other part of the world, which was the enterprize of *Fernando Magellan* a Portugall gentleman, whose great courage and constancie in the research of this subiect, and happy successe in the finding thereof, gave the name of eternall memory to this straight, which iustly they call by the name of the discoverer *Magellan*, of which straight we will intreate a little, as of one of the greatest wonders of the world. Some have beleevd, that this Straight which *Magellan* had discovered in the South sea, was none, or that it was straightned, as *Don Alonso d' Arsilie* writes in his *Auracane*: and at this day there are some that say, there is no such straight, but that they are Ilands betwixt the sea and land, for that the maine land endes there, at the end whereof are all Ilands, beyond the which the one sea ioynes fully with the other, or to speake better, it is all one Sea. But in truth it is most certaine, there is a straight and a long and stretched out land on eyther side, although it hath not yet beene knowne how farre it stretcheth of the one side of the straight towards the South. After *Magellan*, a shippe of the Bishoppe of *Plaisance* passed the straight, *Don Guities Carvaial*, (whose mast they say is yet at *Lima*, at the entrie of the palace,) they went afterwards coasting along the South, to discover the Straight, by the commandement of *Don Garcia of Mendoce*, then governer of *Chille*, according to that which Captaine *Ladrillero* found it and passed it. I have read the discourse and report he made, where he saith, that he did not hazard himselfe to land in the Straight, but having discovered the North sea, he returned back, for the roughnes of the time, winter being now come,
which

which caused the waves comming from the North, to grow great and swelling, and the sea continually foaming with rage. In our time, *Francis Drake* an Englishman, passed this straight: After him, *Captaine Sarmiento* passed it on the South side. And lastly, in the yeere 1587. other Englishmen passed it, by the instruction of *Drake*, which at this time runne along all the coast of *Peru*. And for that the report which the master Pilot that passed it made, seemeth notable vnto me, I will heere set it downe.

Of the Straight of Magellan, and how it was passed on the South side. CHAP. II.

IN the yeere of our Lord God, one thousand five hundred seaventy nine, *Francis Drake* having passed the Straights that runne alongest the coast of *Chille*, and all *Peru*, and taken the shippe of *Saint Iean d' Anthona*, where there was a great number of barres of silver, the Viceroy Don *Francis of Toledo* armed and sent forth two good shippes, to discover the Straight, appoynting *Peter Sarmiento* for Captaine, a man learned in Astrologie. They parted from *Callao* of *Lima* in the beginning of October; and forasmuch as vpon that coast there blowes a contrary winde from the South, they tooke the sea, and having sailed litle above thirty days with a favourable winde, they came to the same altitude of the Straight: but for that it was very hard to discover, they approched neere vnto the land, where they entred into a great Bay, in the which there is an Archipelague of Ilands: *Sarimento* grew obstinate, that this was the Straight, and staid a whole moneth to finde it
our,

out, by diuerſe wayes creeping vppe to the high mountaines. But ſeeing they could not diſcover it, at the inſtance of ſuch as were in the army, they returned to ſea. The ſame day the weather grew rough, with the which they ranne their courſe, in the beginning of the night the Admiralls light failed ſo, as the other ſhippe never ſee them after: The day following, the force of the winde continuing ſtill, being a ſide wind, the Admiralles ſhippe diſcovered an opening, which made land, thinking good to enter there for ſhelter, untill the tempeſt were paſt. The which ſucceeded in ſuch ſort, as having diſcovered this vent, they found that it ranne more and more into the land; and coniecturing that it ſhould be the Straight which they ſought, they tooke the height of the Sunne, where they found themſelves in fiftie degrees and a halfe, which is the very height of the Straight: and, to be the better aſſured, they thruſt out their Brigandine, which having run many leagues into this arme of the ſea, without ſeeing any end, they found it to be the very Straight. And for that they had order to paſſe it, they planted a hie Croſſe there, with letters thereon, to the end, that if the other ſhip ſhould chance to arrive there, they ſhould have neices of their Generall, and follow. They paſſed the Straight in a favourable time without difficultie, and paſſing into the north ſea, they came to certaine vnknowne Ilandes, where they tooke in freſh water, and other refreshings: From thence they tooke their courſe towards *Cape de Vert*, from whence the Pilote maior returned to *Peru*, by the way of *Carthagene*, and *Panama*, carrying a diſcourſe of the Straight to the Viceroy, and of all their ſucceſſe, of whom he was well rewarded for his good ſervice.

But

But Captaine *Peter Sarmiento* failed from *Cape Vert* to *Seville* in the same ship wherewith he had passed the Straight, and went to Court, where his Maiestie rewarded him; and at his instance, gave commaundement to prepare a great army, which he sent vnder the commaund of *Diego Flores de Valdes*, to people and fortifie this Straight. But this army, after variable succeſſe, ſpent much, and profited little.

Returning now to the Viceadmiralles ſhippe, which went in company of the Generall, having loſt him in the ſtorme, they tooke the ſea, but the wind being contrary and ſtormy, they looked all to periſh, ſo as they confeſſed themſelves, and prepared for death. This tempeſt continued three dayes without intermiſſion, and hourly they feared to runne on ground; but it fel out contrary, for they went ſtill from land, vntill the ende of the third day, that the ſtorme ceaſed, and then taking the height, they found themſelves in fiftie ſixe degrees: but ſeeing they had not croſſed, and yet were farre from land, they were amazed, whereby they ſurmized (as *Hernando Lamiro* tolde me) that the land which is on the other ſide of the Straight, as wee goe by the ſouth ſea, runnes not the ſame o roner that it doth to the Straight, but that it turneth to the Eaſt: for elſe it were impoſſible but they ſhoulde have touched land, having runne ſo long time with this croſſe winde: but they paſſed on no further, neyther could they diſcover the lands end (which ſome holde to be there) whether it were an Iland on the other ſide of the Straight, where the two ſeas of North and Sonth doe ioine together, or that it did runne vppe towards the Eaſt, and ioine with the land of *Veſta*, as they call it, which answers to the Cape of Good Hope (as it is the
opi-

opinion of some.) The trueth hereof is not to this day well knowne, neither is there any one found that hath discovered that land. The Viceroy Don *Martin Henrique* saide vnto me, that he held this report for an invention of the *English*, that the Straight should presentlie make an Iland, and that the two seas did ioine together, for that (beeing Viceroy of New *Spaine*) hee had diligently examined the Portugall Pilote, who had bin left there by *Francis Drake*, and yet had no knowledge of any such matter by him. But that was a very Straight, and a maine land on either side. Returning then to the saide Viceadmirall, they discovered this Straight (as the saide *Hernando Lamero* reported vnto mee), but by another mouth or entrie, and in a greater height, by reason of a certaine great Iland which is at the entrie of the Straight, which they call, the Bell, for the forme it carries. And (as he saide) hee would have passed it: but the Captaine and souldiers would not yeelde therevnto, supposing that the time was too farre spent, and that they were in great daunger. And so they returned to *Chille* and *Pern*, without passing it.

of the Straight which some holde to be in Florida.

CHAP. 12.

EVEN as *Magellan* found out this Straight vpon the South, so some have pretended to discover another Straight, which they say is in the north, and suppose it to be in *Florida*, whose coast runs in such sort, as they knowe no end thereof. *Peter Melendez* the *Adelantado*, a man very expert at sea, affirmeth for certaine, that there is a Straight, and that the King had commanded him

him to discover it, wherein he shewed a great desire: he propounded his reasons to proove his opinion, saying, that they have seene some remainders of shippes in the North sea, like vnto those the which the Chinois vse, which had beene impossible, if there were no passage from one sea vnto another. Moreover, he reported, that in a certaine great Bay in *Florida*, (the which runnes 300. leagues within the land,) they see Whales in some season of the yeere, which come from the other sea. Shewing moreover other likelihood, he concludes, that it was a thing agreeing with the wisdom of the Creator, and the goodly order of nature, that as there was communication and a passage betwixt the two seas at the Pole *Antartike*, so there should in like sort, be one at the Pole *Artike*, which is the principall Pole. Some will say, that *Drake* had knowledge of this Straight, and that he gave occasion so to iudge, whenas he passed along the coast of new *Spaine* by the South sea. Yea, they hold opinion, that other Englishmen which this yeere 1587. tooke a shippe comming from the *Philippines*, with great quantitie of gold and other riches, did passe this straight, which prize they made neere to the *Calliphornes*, which course the ships returning from the *Philippines* and *China*, to new *Spaine*, do vsually observe. They confidently beleeve, that (as the courage of man is great, and his desire infinite, to finde new meanes to enrich himselfe) so within few yeeres this secret will be discovered. And truly, it is a thing worthie admiration, that as the Ants do alwaies follow the trace of other; so men in the knowledge and search of new things, never stay, vntill they have attained the desired end for the content and glorie of men. And the high and eternall wisdom of the

Creator

Creator vseth this curiositie of men, to communicate the light of his holy Gospell to people, that alwaies live in the obscure darkenesse of their errors. But to conclude, the straight of the *Artike* Pole (if there be any) hath not been yet discovered. It shall not therefore be from the purpose, to speake what we know of the particularities of the *Antartike* straight, already discovered and knowne, by the report of such as have seene and observed it.

Of the properties of the Straight of Magellan.

CHAP. 13.]

THis Straight, as I have said, is iust fiftie degrees to the South, and from one sea to another, fourscore and ten, or a hundred leagues, in the narrowest place, it is a league and little lesse, whert it was intended the King should build a Fort to defend the passage. It is so deepe in some places, that it cannot be sounded, and in some places they finde ground at 18. yea, at 15. fadomes. Of these hundred leagues which it containes in length from one sea vnto the other, it is plainly seene, that the waves of the South sea, runne 30. leagues, and the other 70. are possessed with the billowes and waves of the North sea. But there is this difference, that the 30. leagues to the South, runne betwixt the rockes and most high mountaines, whose tops are continually covered with snow: so as they seeme) by reason of their great height) to be ioyned together, which makes the entrie of the Straight to the South so hard to discover. In these 30. leagues, the sea is very deepe, and without bottome, yet may they fasten their ships

to the land, the banckes being straight and vneuen; but in the 70. leagues towards the North, they finde ground, and of either side there are large plaines, the which they call *Cauanas*. Many great rivers of faire and cleere water runne into this Straight, and thereabout are great and wonderfull Forrests, whereas they finde some trees of excellent wood and sweete, the which are not knowne in these partes, whereoff such as passed from thence to *Peru*, brought some to shew. There are many medowes within the land, and many Ilands in the midst of the Straight. The Indians that inhabite on the South side, are little, and cowards, those that dwell on the North part, are great and valiant: they brought some into *Spaine*, which they hadde taken. They found peeces of blew cloth, and other markes and signes that some men of *Europe* had passed there. The Indians saluted our men with the name of *Iesus*. They are good Archers, and goe clad in wilde beasts skinnnes, whereof there is great aboundance. The waters of the Straight rise and fall as the tide, and they may visibly see the tides come of the one side of the North sea, and of the other from the South whereas they meete, the which (as I have said) is thirtie leagues from the South, and three score and tenne from the North. And although it seemes there should be more daunger then in all the rest, yet whenas Captaine *Sarmiento* his shippe (whereof I spake) passed it, they had no great stormes, but found farre lesse difficultie then they expected: for then the time was very calme and pleasant. And moreover, the waves from the north sea, came broken, by reason of the great length of three score and tenne leagues, and the waves from the south sea were not raging, by reason of the great deapth, in
which

which deapth, the waves breake, and are swallowed vp: It is true, that in winter the straight is not navigable, by reason of the tempests and raging of the sea in that season. Some shippes which have attempted to passe the Straight in winter, have perished. One onely shippe passed it on the South side, which is the Captaine I made mention of. I was fully instructed of all that I have spoken by the Pilote thereof, called *Hernando Alonso*, and have scene the true discription of the Straight they made in passing it, whereof they carried the copie to the King of *Spaine*, and the original to their viceroy of *Peru*.

Of the ebbing and flowing of the Indian Ocean.

CHAP. 14.

ONE of the most admirable secrets of Nature is the ebbing and flowing of the sea, not onely for this strange property of rising and falling, but much more for the difference there is thereof in diverse seas, yea in diverse coastes of one and the same sea. There are some seas that have no daily flowing nor ebbing, as we see in the inner Mediterranean, which is the *Thyrene* sea, and yet it flowes and ebbes every day in the vpper Mediterranean sea, which is that of *Venice*, and iustly giveth cause of admiration; that these two seas being Mediterranean, and that of *Venice* being no greater then the other, yet hath it his ebbing and flowing as the Ocean, and that other sea of *Italie* none at all. There are some Mediterranean seas, that apparantly rise and fall everie moneth; and others that neyther rise in the day, nor in the moneth. There are other seas, as the Spanish Ocean,

cean, that have their flux and reflux every day; and besides that, they have it monethly, which commeth twice, that is to say, at the entry, and at the ful of every Moone, which they call Spring tides. To say that any sea hath this daily ebbing and flowing, and not monethly, I knowe not any. It is strange, the difference we finde of this subiect at the *Indies*, for there are some places whereas the sea doth daily rise & fall two leagues as at *Panama*, and at a high water it riseth much more; There are other places where it doth rise and fall so little, that hardly can you finde the difference. It is ordinary in the Ocean sea to have a daily flowing and ebbing, and that was twice in a naturall day, and ever it falls three quarters of an houre sooner one day then another, according to the course of the Moone: so as the tide falles not alwayes in one houre of the day. Some would say, that this flux and reflux proceeded from the locall motion of the water of the sea; so as the water that riseth on the one side, falles on the other that is opposite vnto it: so that it is ful sea on the one side when as it is a lowe water on the opposite, as we see in a kettie full of water, when wee moove it, when it leanes to the one side the water increaseth; and on the other it diminisheth. Others affirme, that the sea riseth in all partes at one time, and decreaseth at one instant: as the boiling of a pot, comming out of the centre it extendeth it selfe on all partes, and when it ceaseth, it falles likewise on all partes.

This second opinion is true, and in my iudgement, certaine and tried, not so much for the reasons which the Philosophers give in their Meteors, as for the certaine experience wee may make. For to satisfie my selfe vpon this point and question, I demanded particularly
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of the said Pilot, how he found the tides in the straight, and if the tides of the South sea did fall whenas those of the North did rise. And contrariwise (this question being true) why the increase of the sea in one place; is the decrease thereof in another, as the first opinion holdeth. He answered that it was not so, but they might see plainly, that the tides of the North and South seas rise at one instant, so as the waves of one sea incountred with the other, and at one instant likewise they began to retire, every one into his sea, saying, that the rising and falling was daily scene, and that the incounter of the tides (as I have saide) was at three score and tenne leagues to the North sea, and thirtie to the South. Whereby wee may plainly gather, that the ebbing and flowing of the Ocean is no pure locall motion, but rather an alteration: whereby all waters really rise and increase at one instat, and in others, they diminish, as the boyling of a pot, whereof I have spoken. It were impossible to comprehend this poynt by experience, if it were not in the Straight, where all the Ocean, both on th'one side, & on th'other ioynes together: for none but Angelles can see it, and iudge of the opposite parts: for that man hath not so long a sight, nor so nimble and swift footing as were needefull, to transporte his eyes from one parte to another, in so short a time, as a tide will give him respite, which are only six houres.

Of sundry Fishers, and their maner of fishing at the Indies. CHAP. 15.

There are in the Indian Ocean, an infinite number of fishes, the kindes & properties whereof the Cre-

ator only can declare. There are many such as we have in the sea of *Europe*, as shaddes, and aloses which come from the sea into the rivers; dorads, pilchards, and many other. There are others, the like I doe not thinke to have seene in these partes, as those which they doe call *Cabrillas*, which doe somewhat resemble the trowt, and in new *Spaine* they call them *Bobos*, they mount from the sea into the rivers. I have not seene any *Besugues* there, nor trowts, although some say there are in *Chille*. There are *Tonins* in some partes vpon the coast of *Peru*, but they are rare, and some are of opinion, that at a certaine time they do cast their spawne in the Straight of *Magellan*, as they doe in *Spaine* at the Straight of *Gibraltar*, and for this reason they finde more vpon the coast of *Chille*, although those I have seene there, are not like to them in *Spaine*. At the Ilandes (which they call *Barlovente*) which are *Cuba*, *Saint Dominique*, *Port rique*, and *Iamaique*, they find a fish which they call *Manati*, a strange kinde of fish, if we may call it fish, a creature which ingenders her yoong ones alive, and hath teates, and doth nourish them with milke, feeding of grasse in the fieldes, but in effect it lives continually in the water, and therefore they eate it as fish; yet when I did eate of it at *Saint Dominique* on a friday, I hadde some scruple, not for that which is spoken, but for that in colour and taste it was like vnto morselles of veale, so is it Greene, and like vnto a cowe on the hinder partes. I didde woonder at the incredible ravening of the *Tiburons*, or sharkes, whenas I did see drawne from one (that was taken in the Port) out of his gullet, a buchers great knife, a great yron hooke, and a peece of a cowes head with one whole horne, neyther doe I knowe if both were there, or no. I did see in a creeke made with

that

that sea, a quarter of a horse for pleasure hanging vpon a stake, whither presently came a company of these *Tiburons*, at the smell thereof: and for the more pleasure, this horse flesh was hung in the aire, I knowe not how many hand breadth from the water; this company of fish flocke about it, leaping vp, and with a strange nimbleness cut off both flesh and bone off the horse leg, as if it had beene the stalke of a lettuce; their teeth being as sharpe as a rasour. There are certaine small fishes they call *Rambos*, which cleave to these *Tiburons*, neither can they drive them away, and they are fed with that which fallies from the *Tiburons*. There are other small fishes, which they call flying fishes, the which are found within the tropickes, and in no other place, as I thinke: they are pursued by the *Ducades*; and to escape them they leape out of the sea, and goe a good way in the ayre, and for this reason they are called flying Fishes: they have wings as it were of linnen cloth, or of parchment, which do supporte them some space in the ayre. There did one sie or leape into the shippe wherein I went, the which I did see, and observe the fashion of his wings.

In the Indian histories there is often mention made of *Lezards* or *Caymans* (as they call them) and they are the very same which *Plinie* and the Antients call Crocodiles, they finde them on the sea side, and in hote rivers, for in colde rivers there are none to be found. And therefore they finde none vpon all the coast of *Peru* vnto *Payra*, but forward they are commonly seene in the rivers. It is a most fierce and cruell beast, although it be slow and heauie. Hee goes hunting and seekes his prey on the land, and what hee takes alive, he drownes it in the water, yet dooth hee not eate it, but out of the wa-

ter, for that his throate is of such a fashion, as if there entred any water, he should easily be drowned. It is a woonderfull thing to see a combat betwixt a Caymant and a Tigre, whereof there are most cruell at the *Indies*. A religious man of our company tolde me that he had seene these beasts fight most cruelly one against the other; vpon the sea shoare the Caymant with his taile gave great blowes vnto the Tygre, striving with his great force to carry him into the water: and the Tygre with his pawes resisted the Caymant, drawing him to land. In the end the Tigre vanquished and opened the Lezard; it seemes by the belly, the which is most tender and penetrable, for in every other parte hee is so hard, that no lance, and scarce a harquebuze can pierce it. The victory which an Indian had of a Caymant was yet more rare: the Caimant had carried away his yong childe, and sodainely plunged into the sea; the Indian mooved with choller, cast himselfe after him, with a knife in his hand, and as they are excellent swimmers and diuers, and the Caymant swimmeth alwayes on the toppe of the water, hee hurt him in the belly, and in such sort, that the Caymant feeling himselfe wounded, went to the shoare, leaving the little infant dead. But the combate which the Indians have with Whales is yet more admirable, wherein appears the power and greatnesse of the Creator, to give so base a Nation (as be the Indians) the industry and courage to incounter the most fierce and deformed beast in the worlde, and only to fight with him, but also to vanquish him, & not to triumph over him. Considering this, I have often remembred that place of the Psalme, speaking of the Whale, *Draco iste quem formasti ad illudendum eum*: What greater mockerie can there be, then to see an Indian

dian leade a whale as bigge as a mountaine, vanquished with a corde. The manner the Indians of *Florida* vse (as some expert men have tolde me) to take these whales; (whereof there is great store) is; they put themselves into a Canoe, which is like a barke of a tree, and in swimming approach neere the whales side; then with great dexteritie they leape to his necke; and there they ride as on horse backe expecting his time; then hee thrustes a sharpe and strong stake (which hee carries with him) into the whales nostrill, for so they call the hole or vent by which they breathe, presently hee beates it in with an other stake as forcibly as hee can; in the meane space the whale dooth furiously beate the sea, and raiseth mountaines of water, running into the deepe with great violence, and presently riseth againe, not knowing what to doe for paine; the Indian still sittes firme; and to give him full payment for this trouble, he beates another stake into the other vent or nostrill, so as he stoppeth him quite, and takes away his breathing, then hee betakes him to his Canoe, which he holdes tied with a corde to the whales side, and goes to land, having first tied his corde to the whale, the which hee lettes runne with the whale, who leapes from place to place, whilst he finds water enough: being troubled with paine, in the end hee comes neere the land, and remains on ground by the hugeness of his body, vnable any more to moove; then a great number of Indians come vnto the Conqueror, to gather his spoiles, they kill him, and cut his flesh in peeces, the which is bad enough; this do they drie and beate into powlder, vsing it for meate, it dooth last them long: wherein is fulfilled, that which is spoken in another Psalme of the whale, *Dedisti eum escam populis Ethiopum*: Peter Mendez the *Adelantado*

did often speake of this kinde of fishing. Whereof *Morales* makes mention in his booke. There is an other fishing which the Indians do commonly vse in the sea, the which, although it be lesse, yet is it worthy the report. They make as it were faggots of bul-rushes or drie sedges well bound together; which they call *Ballas*, having carried them vpon their shoulders to the sea, they cast them in, and presently leape vpon them, being so set, they lanch out into the deepe, rowing vp and downe with small reedes of eyther side: they goe a league or two into the sea to fish, carrying with them their cordes and nettes vpon these faggots, and beare themselves thereon. They cast out their nettes, and do there remaine fishing the greatest parte of the day and night, vntill they have filled vp their measure, with the which they returne wel satisfied. Truely it was delightful to see them fish at *Callao* of *Lima*, for that they were many in number, and every one set on horsebacke, cutting the wayes of the sea, which in their place of fishing are great and furious, resembling the *Tritons* or *Nep-tunes*, which they paint vpon the water, and beeing come to land, they drawe their barke out of the water vpon their backs, the which they presently vndoe, and lay abroade on the shoare to drie. There were other Indians of the vallies of *Tca* which were accustomed to goe to fish in leather, or skinnes of sea-wolves, blowne vp with winde, and from time to time they did blowe them like balles of winde, lest they should sinke. In the vale of *Canete*, which in olde time they called *Guarao*, there were a great number of Indian fishers; but because they resisted the *Ingua*, when he came to conquer that land, he made shew of peace with them, and therefore to feast him, they appoynted a solemne fishing of manie

nie thousand Indians, which went to sea in their vessels of reeds; at whose returne, the *Ingua* (who had layde many souldiers in ambush) made a cruell butcherie of them, so as afterward this land remained vnpeopled, although it be abundant and fertile. I did see another manner of fishing, wherevnto Don *Francis* of *Toledo* the Viceroy didde leade mee, yet was it not in the sea, but in a river which they call great in the Province of *Charcas*, where the Indians *Chiriquanas* plunged into the water, and swimming wyth an admirable swiftnesse, followed the fish, where with dartes and hookes which they vse to carry in their right hand, only swimming with the left) they wound the fish, and so hurt, they brought them forth, seeming in this more like vnto fishes then men of the land. But now that we have left the sea, let vs come to other kinde of waters that remaine to be spoken of.

Of Lakes and Pooles that be at the Indies.

CHAP. 16.

IN place of the Mediterranean Sea, which is in the old world, the Creator hath furnished this new with many Lakes, whereof there are some so great, as they may be properly called seas; seeing the Scripture calleth that of *Palestina* so, which is not so great as some of these. The most famous, is that of *Titicaca*, which is at *Pern*, in the Province of *Callao*; the which as I have said in the former booke, containes neere fourscore leagues in compasse, into the which, there runnes ten or twelue great rivers. A while since, they began to
saile

saile in it with barks and shippes, wherein they proceeded so ill, that the first shippe was split with a tempest that did rise in the Lake. The water is not altogether sower nor salt, as that of the sea, but it is so thicke, as it cannot be drunke. There are two kindes of fishes breed in this Lake in great abundance, the one they call *Su-ches*, which is great and savourous, but phlegmatike and vnwholesome; and the other *Bogós*, which is more healthfull, although it be lesse and fuller of bones; there are great numbers of wilde-duckes and wigens. When as the Indians will feast it; or shew delight to any one that passeth along the two banckes, which they call *Chucayto* and *Omasugo*, they assemble a great number of *Canoes*, making a circle and invironing the fowle, vntill they take with their hands what they please; and they call this maner of fishing *Chaco*. On the one and the other banke of this Lake, are the best habitations of *Peru*. From the issue thereof there growes a lesser Lake, although it be great, which they call *Paria*, vpon the bankes whereof, there are great numbers of cattell, especially swine, which grow exceeding fatte with the grasse vpon those banks. There are many other Lakes in the high mountains, whence proceede brooks & rivers, which after become great flouds. Vpon the way from *Arequipa* to *Callao*, there are two Lakes, vpon the mountains of th'one & other side the way, from th'one flowes a brooke, which growes to a floud, and falles into the South sea; from the other, they say the famous river of *Aporima* takes her beginning; from the which, some hold that the renowned river of *Amazos*, otherwise called *Maragnon* proceedes, with so great an assembly and abundance of waters, which ioyne in these mountaines. It is a question may be often asked, why

why there are so many Lakes in the toppes of these mountaines, into the which no river enters, but contrariwise, many great streames issue forth, and yet do we scarce see these Lakes to diminish any thing at any season of the yeere. To imagine that these Lakes grow by the snow that melts, or raine from heaven, that doth not wholly satisfie me: for there are many that have not this abundance of snow, nor raine, and yet we see no decrease in them, which makes me to beleieve they are springs which rise there naturally, although it be not against reason, to thinke that the snow and raine helpe somewhat in some seasons. These Lakes are so common in the highest toppes of the mountaines, that you shall hardly finde any famous river that takes not his beginning from one of them. Their water is very cleere, and breeds little store of fish, and that little is very small, by reason of the cold which is there continually. Notwithstanding, some of these Lakes be very hote, which is another wonder. At the end of the vallie of *Tarapaya* neere to *Potozi*, there is a Lake in forme round, which seemes to have been made by compasse, whose water is extreame hote, and yet the land is very colde: they are accustomed to bathe themselves neere the banke, for else they cannot indure the heate being farther in. In the midst of this Lake, there is a boiling of above twenty foote square, which is the very spring, and yet (notwithstanding the greatnes of this spring) it is never seene to increase in any sort: it seemes that it exhales of it selfe, or that it hath some hidden and vnknowne issue, neither do they see it decrease, which is another wonder, although they have drawne from it a great streame, to make certaine engines grinde for mettall, considering the great quantity
of

of water that issueth forth, by reason whereof, it should decrease. But leaving *Peru*, and passing to new *Spaine*, the Lakes there, are no lesse to be observed, especially that most famous of *Mexico*, where we finde two sortes of waters, one salt Lake to that of the sea, and the other cleere and sweete, by reason of the rivers that enter into it. In the midst of this Lake, is a rocke verie delightfull and pleasant, where there are baths of hote water that issue forth, the which they greatly esteeme for their health. There are gardins in the midst of this Lake, framed and fleeting vpon the water, where you may see plottes full of a thousand sortes of hearbes and flowers, and they are in such sort, as a man cannot well conceive them without sight. The Citie of *Mexico*, is seated in the same Lake, although the Spaniards have filled vp the place of the scituation with earth, leaving onely some currents of water, great and small, which enter into the Citie, to carrie such things as they have neede of, as wood, hearbes, stone, fruites of the countrie; and all other things. When *Cortez* conquered *Mexico*, he caused *Brigandins* to be made, yet afterwards he thought it more safe not to vse them: therfore they vse *Canoes*, whereof there is great store. There is great store of fish in this Lake, yet have I not scene any of price: notwithstanding, they say the revenue of this Lake, is worth three hundred thousand duckets a yeere. There are many other Lakes, not far from this, whence they bring much fish to *Mexico*. The Province of *Mechowacan* is so called, for that it aboundeth greatly with fish. There are goodly and great Lakes, in the which there is much fish, and this Province is coole and healthfull. There are many other Lakes, whereof it is not possible to make mention, nor to know them in
parti-

particular, onely we may note by that which hath
beene discoursed in the former booke, that vnder
the burning Zone there is greater abundance of Lakes;
then in any other parte of the world: and so by that
which we have formerly spoken, and the little we shall
say of rivers and fountaines, we will end this discourse
of Waters.

Of many and diuers Springs and Fountaines.

CHAP. 17.

There is at the *Indies*, as in other parts of the world,
great diuersitie of Springs, Fountaines, and Ri-
uers, and some have strange properties: In *Guanacavilica*
of *Peru*, (where the mines of quick-silver be,) there is
a Fountaine that casts forth hote water, and in running,
the water turnes to rocke, of which rocke or stone, they
build in a mauer all the houses of the Village. This
stone is soft, and easie to cutte, for they cut it as easily
with yron as if it were wood, it is light and lasting. If
men or beasts drinke thereof, they die, for that it con-
geales in the very entrailes, and turnes into stone, and
for that cause some horses have died. As this water
turnes into stone, the which flowes, stoppes the pas-
sage to the rest, so as of necessitie it changeth the course,
and for this reason it runnes in diuers places, as the rocke
increaseth. At the point of Cape *S. Helaine*, there is a
spring or fountaine of pitch, which at *Peru*, they call
Coppey. This should be like to that which the Scripture
speakes of the savage valley, where they did finde pits
of pitch. The Mariners vse these fountaines of pitch or
Coppey, to pitch their ropes and tackling, for that it
serves

serves them as pitch and tarre in *Spain*. When I sailed
 into new *Spain* by the coast of *Peru*, the Pilot shewed
 me an Island, which they call the Ile of Wolves, where
 there is another fountaine or pit of *Coppey* or pitch, with
 the which they anoint their tackling. There are other
 fountaines and springs of *Goultran rozen*, which the
 Pilot (an excellent man in his charge) tolde me he had
 seene, and that sometimes sailing that waies, being so
 farre into the sea, as he had lost the sight of land, yet
 did he know by the smell of the *Coppey*, where he was,
 as well as if he had knowne the land, such is the savour
 that issues continually from that fountaine. At the
 baths, which they call the baths of *Ingua*, there is a
 course of water, which comes forth all hote and boi-
 ling; and ioyning vnto it, there is another whose water
 is as cold as ice. The *Ingua* was accustomed to temper
 the one with the other; & it is a wonderfull thing to see
 springs of so contrarie qualities, so neere one to the o-
 ther. There are an infinit number of other hote springs,
 specially in the Province of *Charcas*, in the water where-
 of, you cannot indure to hold your hand, the space of
 an *Ave Maria*, as I have seene tried by wager. In a farme
 neere to *Cusco*, springs a fountain of salt, which as it runs
 turns into salt, very white & exceeding good, the which
 (if it were in another cuntry) were no small riches, yet
 they make very small account thereof, for the store
 they have there. The waters which runne in *Guayaquel*,
 which is in *Peru*, almost vnder the Equinoctiall line,
 are held to be healthfull for the French disease, and o-
 ther such like, so as they come from many places farre
 off to be cured. And they say the cause thereof is, for
 that in that COUNTRY there is great abundance of
 rootes, which they call *Sallepareille*, the vertue and ope-
 ration

ration whereof is so knowne, that it communicates her propertie to the waters wherein it is put to cure this disease. *Bilcanota* is a mountaine the which (according to common opinion,) is in the highest part of *Peru*, the toppe whereof is all covered with snow, and in some places is blacke like coale. There issueth forth of it, two springs in contrarie places, which presently growe to be very great brookes, and so by little and little become great flouds, the one goes to *Calloa*, into the great Lake *Titicaca*, the other goes to the lands, and is that which they call *Yucay*, which ioyning with another, runnes into the North sea, with a violent and furious course. This spring, when it comes out of the rocke *Bilcanota*, as I have said, is of the colour of lie, having an ashie colour, and castes a fume as a thing burnt, the which runs fast in this sort, vntill the multitude of waters that runne into it, quench this smoake and fire which it drawes from the spring. In new *Spaine*, I have scene a spring as it were inke, somewhat blew; in *Peru* another, of colour red like blood; wherevpon they call it the red river.

Of Rivers. CHAP. 18.

Amongst all Rivers, not onely at the *Indies*, but generally through the world, the River *Maragnon*, or of *Amazons*, is the chiefe, whereof we have spoken in the former booke. The Spaniards have often sailed it, pretending to discover the lands, which by report are very rich; especially those they call *Dorado* and *Paytiti*, *Iean de Salnies*, the *Adelantade*, made a memorable entrie, though of small effect. There is a passage which they

they call *Pongo*, one of the most dangerous in all the worlde; for the river being there straightned, and forced betwixt two high steepe rockes: the water fallies directly downe with so great a violence; that comming steepe downe, it causeth such a boyling, as it seemeth impossible to passe it without drowning: yet the courage of men durst attempt to passe it, for the desire of this renowned *Dorado*: they slipt downe from the top to the bottome, thrust on with the violence and current of the floud; holding themselves fast in their Canoes or barkes: and although in falling they were turned topsie turvie, and both they and their Canoes plunged into the deepe, yet by their care and industry they recovered themselves againe; and in this sort the whole army escaped, except some few that were drowned. And that which is more admirable, they carried themselves so cunningly, that they neyther lost their powlder nor munition. In their returne (having suffered many troubles and daungers) they were forced, in the end, to passe backe that same way, mounting by one of those high Rockes, sticking their poniards in the rocke.

Captaine *Peter d'Orsua* made an other entry by the same river, who being dead in the same voyage, and the souldiers mutined; other Captaines followed the enterprise, by an arme that comes into the north sea. A religious man of our company told vs, that being then a secular man, he was present in a manner at all that enterprise, and that the tides did flowe almost a hundred leagues vp the river; and whereas it enters into the sea, (the which is vnder the Line, or very neere) it hath 70. leagues breadth at the mouth of it, a matter incredible, and which exceeds the breadth of the Mediterranean

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sea, though there be some others, who in their descriptions give it but twenty five or thirty leagues bredth at the mouth. Next to this river that of *Plata*, or of Silver holdes the second place, which is otherwise called *Paraguay*, which runnes from the mountaines of *Peru*, into the sea, in thirty five degrees of altitude to the South: it riseth (as they say) like to the river of *Nile*, but much more without comparision, and makes the fields it overflowes like vnto a sea, for the space of three moneths; and after returneth againe to his course, in the which ships do saile many leagues against the streame. There are many other rivers that are not of that greatnes, and yet are equall: yea they surpasse the greatest of *Europe*, as that of *Magdalaine*, neere to Saint *Marthe* the great river, and that of *Akvarado* in new *Spaine*, and an infinit number of others. Of the south side, on the mountains of *Peru*, the rivers are not vsually so great, for that their current is not long, and that many waters cannot ioine together, but they are very swift, descending from the mountaines, and have sodaine fallcs, by reason whereof they are very dangerous, and many men have perished there. They increase and overflowe most in the time of heate. I have gone over twenty and seaven rivers vpon that coast, yet did I never passe any one by a foord. The Indians vse a thousand devises to passe their rivers. In som places they have a long cord that runs from one side to th'other, & thereon hangs a basket, into the which he puts himselfe that meanes to passe; and then they drawe it from the bancke with another corde, so as hee passeth in this basket. In other places the Indian passeth, as it were on horse backe, vppon a bottle of straw, and behinde him hee that desires to passe; and so rowing with a peece of a boorde, carries him over.

In other places they make a floate of gourds or pompions, vpon the which they set men with their stuffe to carry over, and the Indians having cordes fastned to them, goe swimming before, and drawe this floate of pompions after them, as horses doe a Coach: others goe behinde thrusting it forward. Having passed, they take their barke of pompions vpon their backe, and returne swimming: this they doe in the river of *Saint* at *Pern*. We passed that of *Alvarado* in new *Spaine* vpon a table, which the Indians carried vpon their shoulders, and when they lost their footing, they swamme. These devises, with a thousand others wherewith they vse to passe their rivers, breede a terrour in the beholders, helping themselves with such weake and vn Timer means; and yet they are very confident. They do vse no other bridges but of haire or of straw. There are now vpon some rivers bridges of stone, built by the diligence of some governours, but many fewer then were needfull in such a country, where so many men are drowned by default thereof, and the which yeeldes so much silver, as not onely *Spaine*, but also other strange Countries make sumptuous buildings therewith. The Indians do drawe from these floudes that runne from the mountaines to the vallies and plaines, many and great brooks to water their land, which they vsually doe with such industry, as there are no better in *Murcia*, nor at *Millan* it selfe, the which is also the greatest and onely wealth of the Plaines of *Pern*, and of many other partes of the *Indies*.

of the qualitie of the land at the Indies in generall.

CHAP. 19.

WE may know the qualitie of the land at the *Indies*, for the greatest parte (seeing it is the last of the three Elements, whereof wee have propounded to treat in this Booke) by the discourse we have made in the former Booke of the burning Zone, seeing that the greatest part of the *Indies* dooth lie vnder it. But to make it knowne the more particularly, I have observed three kindes of lands, as I have passed through those Regions: whereof there is one very lowe, another very high, and the third which holds the middle of these two extreames. The lower is that which lieth by the sea coasts, whereof there is in all partes of the *Indies*, and it is commonly very hote and moist, so as it is not so healthfull; and at this day we see it lesse peopled, although in former times it hath beene greatly inhabited with Indians, as it appeareth by the histories of New *Spaine* and *Peru*, and where they kept and lived, for that the soile was naturall vnto them being bred there. They lived of fishing at sea, & of seeds, drawing brooks from the rivers, which they vsed for want of raine, for that it raines little there, and in some places not at all. This lowe countrie hath many places inhabitable, as wel by reason of the sands which are dangerous, (for there are whole mountaines of these sandes) as also for the marishes which grow by reason of the waters that fall from the mountaines, which finding no issue in these flatte and lowe landes, drowne them, and make them vnprofitable.

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And in trueth the greatest parte of all the Indian sea coast is of this sort, chiefly vppon the South sea : The habitation of which coasts is at this present so wasted & contemned, that of thirtie partes of the people that inhabited it, there wants twenty nine; and it is likely the rest of the Indians will in short time decay. Many, according to the varietie of their opinions; attribute this to diuerse causes; some to the great labour which hath beene imposed vppon these Indians; others, vnto the change and varietie of meates and drinks they vse, since their commerce with the Spaniardes; others to their great excessse & drinking, and to other vices they haue: for my part, I hold this disorder to be the greatest cause of their decay, whereof it is not now time to discourse any more. In this lowe countrey (which I say generally is vnhealthfull, and vnfit for mans habitation) there is exception in some places which are temperate and fertile, as the greatest part of the Plaines of *Peru*, where there are coole vallies and very fertile. The greatest part of the habitation of the coast entertaines all the traffike of *Spaine* by sea: whereon all the estate of the *Indies* dependeth. Vpon this coast there are some Townes wel peopled, as *Lima* and *Truxillo* in *Peru*, *Panama* and *Carthagena* vppon the maine land, and in the Ilands *S. Dominique*, *Port Ricco*, and *Havana*, with many other Townes which are lesse than these, as the true Croffe in new *Spaine*, *Yca*, *Arigua* and others in *Peru*: the ports are commonly inhabited, although but slenderly. The second sort of land is contrary, very high, and by consequent, colde and drie, as all the mountaines are commonly. This land is neither fertile nor pleasaunt, but very healthfull, which makes it to be peopled and inhabited. There are pastures, and great store of cattell, the

which

which, for the most parte, entertaines life, and by their cattell, they supply the want they have of corne and graine, by trucking and exchange. But that which makes these landes more inhabited and peopled, is the riches of the mines that are found there, for that all obeys to golde and silver. By reason of the mines there are some dwellings of Spaniards and Indians, which are increased and multiplied, as *Potozi* and *Gancave-licqua* in *Peru*, and *Cacatecas* in new *Spaine*. There are also through all these mountaines great dwellings of the Indians, which to this day are maintained, yea some will say they increase, but that the labour of the mines dooth consume many, and some generall diseases have destroyed a great part, as the *Cocoliste* in new *Spaine*: yet they finde no great diminution. In this extremitie of of high ground they finde two commodities, as I have saide, of pastures and mines, which doe well counter-vaile the two other that are in the lower grounds alongest the sea coast, that is, the commerce of the sea, & the abundance of wine which groweth not but in the hot landes. Betwixt these two extreames there is ground of a meane height; the which, although it bee in some partes higher or lower one than other, yet doth it not approach neyther to the heate of the sea coast, nor the intemperature of the mountaines. In this sorte of soile there groweth many kindes of graine, as wheate, barley, and mays, which grows not at all in the high countries, but well in the lower, there is likewise store of pasture, cattel, fruits, and greene forrests. This part is the best habitation of the three; for health and recreation; and therefore it is best peopled of any parte of the *Indies*, the which I have curiously observed in manie voyages that I have vndertaken, and have alwayes

found it true, that the Province best peopled at the *Indies* be in this scituation. Let vs looke neerely into new *Spaine*, (the which without doubt is the best Province the Sunne dooth circle) by what parte soever you doe enter, you mount vp; and when you have mounted a good height, you beginne to descend, yet very little: and that land is alwayes much higher then that along the sea coast.

All the land about *Mexico* is of this nature and scituation; and that which is about the *Vulcan*, which is the best soile of the *Indies*, as also in *Peru*, *Arequipa*, *Guanagua* and *Cusco*, although more in one then in the other. But in the end, all is high ground, although they descend into deepe valleies, and climbe vpp to high mountaines: the like is spoken of *Quitto*, *Saint Foy*, and of the best of the new kingdome. To conclude, I doe beleve that the wisdom and providence of the Creator would have it so, that the greatest parte of this countrey of the *Indies* should be hillie, that it might be of a better temperature: for being lowe, it had beene very hotte vnder the burning Zone, especially being farre from the sea. Also all the land I have seene at the *Indies*, is neere to the mountaines on the one side or the other, and sometimes of all partes: So as I have oftentimes saide there, that I would gladly see any place, from whence the horizon did fashion it selfe and end by the heaven, and a countrey stretched out and even, as we see in *Spaine* in a thousand champaine fields; yet doe I not remember that I have ever seene such sightes at the *Indies*, were it in the Ilands, or vpon the maine land, although I have travelled above seaven hundred leagues in length. But as I have saide, the neereneffe of the mountaines is very commodious in this region, to
temper

temper the heate of the Sunne. To conclude, the best inhabited partes of the *Indies* are as I have saide: and generally, all that countrie aboundes in grasse, pastures, and forrests, contrary vnto that which *Aristotle* and the Auntients did holde. So as when wee goe out of *Europe* to the *Indies*, wee woonder to see the land so pleasant, Greene and fresh. Yet this rule hath some exceptions, & chiefly in the land of *Peru*, which is of a strange nature amongst all others, whereof wee will now proceede to speake.

Of the properties of the land of Peru.

CHAP. 20.

WEe meane by *Peru*, not that great parte of the worlde which they call *America*, seeing that therein is contained *Bresil*, the kingdome of *Chille*, and that of *Grenade*, and yet none of these kingdomes is *Peru*, but onely that parte which lies to the South, beginning at the kingdome of *Quitto*, which is vnder the Line, and runnes in length to the realme of *Chille*, the which is without the Tropickes, which were fixe hundred leagues in length, and in breadth it contains no more then the mountaines, which is fiftie common leagues, although in some places, as at *Chachapayas*, it be broader. This parte of the world which we call *Peru*, is very remarkeable, and contains in it strange properties, which sereth as an exception to the general rule of the *Indies*. The first is, that vpon all that coast it blowes continually with one onely winde, which is South and Southweast, contrary to that which dooth vsually blow vnder the burning Zone. The second is,

that this winde being by nature the most violent, tempestuous, and vnhealthfull of all others, yet in this region it is marvellous pleasing, healthful, and agreeable: so as we may attribute the habitation of that part thereunto, without the which it would be troublesome and inhabitable, by reason of the heate, if it were not refreshed with the winde. The third propertie is, that it never raines, thunders, snowes, nor hailes in all this coast, which is a matter worthy of admiration. Fourthly, that a little distance from the coast it raines and snowes terribly. Fifthly, that there are two ridges of mountaines which runne the one as the other, and in one altitude, notwithstanding on the one there are great forrests, and it raines the greatest part of the yeere, being very hote; and the other is all naked and bare, and very colde: so as winter and summer are divided on those two mountaines, and raine and cleerenesse it selfe. For the better vnderstanding hereof, wee must consider that *Pern* is divided as it were into three partes, long and narrow, which they call *Lanos*, *Sierras*, and *Andes*; the *Lanos* runnes alongest the sea coast; the *Sierras* be all hilles, with some vallies; and the *Andes* be steepe and craggie mountaines. The *Lanos* or sea coast, have some tenne leagues in breadth, in some parts lesse, and in some parts a little more. The *Sierra* containes some twentie leagues in breadth: and the *Andes* as much, sometimes more, sometimes lesse. They runne in length from north to south, and in breadth from east to west. It is a strange thing, that in so small a distance, as fiftie leagues, equally distant from the Line and Pole, there should bee so great a contrarietie, as to raine almost continually in one place, and never in the other. It never raines vpon the coast or *Lanos*, although there falles sometimes a
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small dew, which they call *Guarua*, and in *Castill Molina*, the which sometimes thickens, and falles in certaine droppes of water, yet is it not troublesome, nor such as they neede any covering. Their coverings are of mattes with a little earth vpon them which is sufficient. Vpon the *Andes* it raines in a manner continually, although it be sometimes more cleere then other. In the *Sierra* which lies betwixt both the exireames, it raineth in the same season as it dooth in *Spaine*, which is from September vnto Aprill, but in the other season, the time is more cleere, which is when the Sunne is farthest off, and the contrarie when it is neereest, whereof we have discoursed at large in the former booke. That which they call *Andes*, and *Sierra*, are twoo ridges of most high mountaines, which runne aboue a thousand leagues, the one in view of the other, and almost equally. There are an infinite number of *Vicagues*, which breede in the *Sierres*, and are properly like vnto wilde goates, very nimble and swift. There are also of those beasts which they call *Guanacos* and *Pacos*, which are sheepe, which we may wel terme the asses of that countrey; whereof we shall speake in their place. And vpon the *Andes* they finde Apes, very gentle and delightfull, and Parrots in great numbers. There also they find the hearb or tree which they call *Coca*, that is so greatly esteemed by the Indians, and the trafficke they make of it, is worthy much mony.

That which they call *Sierre*, causeth vallies, whereas it opens, which are the best dwellings of *Peru*, as is the valley of *Xauxa* of *Andaguaylas*, and *Yucay*. In these vallies there growes wheat, mayes and other fortes of fruits, but lesse in one then in the other. Beyond the Citie of *Cusco*, (the ancient Court of the Lordes of those Realmes,)

Realmes,) the two ridges of mountaines sepeate themselves one from the other, and in the midst leave a plaine and large champian, which they call the Province of *Callao*, where there are many rivers and great store of fertile pastures: there is also that great Lake of *Titicaca*. And although it be a ful soile, and in the same height and intemperature, that the *Sierre* having no more trees nor forrests, yet the want they have of bread, is countervailed with the rootes they sowe, the which they call *Papas*, and they grow in the earth. This roote is the Indians foode; for drying it, and making it cleane, they make that which they call *Chugno*, which is the bread and nourishment of those Provinces. There are other rootes and small hearbes which they eate. It is a healthfull soile, best peopled, and the richest of all the *Indies*, for the abundance of cattell they feed, as well of those that are in *Europe*, as sheepe, neate, and goates, as of those of the Countrie, which they call *Guanacos* and *Pacos*, and there are store of Partridges. Next to the Province of *Callao*, is that of *Charcas*, where there are hote vallies very fertile, and very high rockes, the which are very rich in mines, so as in no part of the world shall you finde better, nor fairer.

The reason why it raines on the Lanos, along the Sea coast. CHAP. 21.

FOR that it is rare and extraordinarie to see a Countrie where it never raines nor thunders; men desire naturally to know the cause of this strangenes. The reason which some give that have neerely looked into it, is, that vpon that coast there rise no vapors, sufficient

to engender raine for want of matter; but onely that there be small and light vapors, which cannot breede any other then mistes and dewes, as we see in *Europe*, oftentimes vapors do rise in the morning, which are not turned into raine, but into mistes only: the which growes from the substance, which is not grosse and sufficient enough to turne to raine. They say, the reason why that which happens but some times in *Europe*, falles out continually vpon the coast of *Peru*, is, for that this region is very drie, and yeeldes no grosse vapors. The driness is knowne by the great abundance of sandes, having neither welles nor fountaines, but of fiftene stades deepe, (which is the height of a man or more,) and that is neere vnto rivers, the water whereof, piercing into the land, giues them meanes to make welles. So as it hath been found by experience, that the course of rivers being turned, the welles have beene dried vp, vntill they returned to their ordinarie course: and they give this reason for a materiall cause of this effect, but they have another efficient, which is no lesse considerable, and that is the great height of the *Sierre*, which comming along the coast, shadowes the *Lanos*; so as it suffers no winde to blowe from the land, but above the toppes of these mountaines. By meanes whereof, there raines no winde, but that from the Sea, which finding no opposite, doth not presse, nor straine forth the vapors which rise to engender raine; so as the shadowe of the mountaines keepe the vapors from thickning, and convertes them all into mistes. There are some experiences agree with this discourse, for that it raines vpon some small hilles along the coast, which are least shadowed; as the rockes of *Alico* and *Arequipa*. It hath rained in some yeeres whenas the Northern
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or easterly windes have blowen : yea, all the time they have continued, as it happened in seventie eight, vpon the *Lakes of Trugillo*, where it rained abundantly, the which they had not seene in many ages before. Moreover, it raines vpon the same coast, in places, whereas the Easterly or Northerne windes be ordinarie, as in *Guayaquil*, and in places whereas the land riseth much, and turnes from the shadow of the mountaines, as in those that are beyond *Ariqua*. Some discourse in this maner, but let every one thinke as he please. It is most certaine, that comming from the mountaines to the vallies, they do vsually see as it were two heavens, one cleere and bright above, and the other obscure, and as it were a graie vaile spread vnderneath, which covers all the coast : and although it raine not, yet this mist is wonderfull profitable to bring forth grasse, and to raise vp and nourish the seede : for although they have plenty of water, which they draw from the Pooles and Lakes, yet this moisture from heaven hath such a vertue, that ceasing to fall vpon the earth, it breeds a great discommoditie and defect of graine and seedes. And that which is more worthy of admiration, the drie and barren sandes are by this dew so beautified with grasse and flowers, as it is a pleasing and agreeable sight, and verie profitable for the feeding of cattell, as we see in the mountaine called Sandie, neere to the Cittie of Kings.

Of the propertie of new Spaine, of the Ilands, and of other Lands, CHAP. 22.

New Spaine passeth all other Provinces in pastures, which breeds infinite troopes of horse, kine, sheepe,

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sheepe, and other cattell. It aboundes in fruite and all kinde of graine. To conclude, it is a Countrie the best furnished, and most accomplished at the *Indies*. Yet *Peru* doth surpass it in one thing, which is wine, for that there growes store, and good; and they daily multiply and increase, the which doth grow in very hote vallies; where there are waterings. And although there bee vines in new *Spaine*, yet the grape comes not to his maturity, fit to make wine. The reason is, for that it raines there in Iulie and August, whenas the grape ripens; and therefore it comes not to his perfection. And if any one through curiositie would take the paines to make wine, it should be like to that of *Genoa* and *Lombardie*, which is very small and sharpe, having a taste like vnto veruice. The Ilands which they call *Barlovente*, which be *Hispaniola*, *Cuba*, *Port Ricco*, & others thereabouts, are beautified with many greene pastures, and abound in cattell, as neate, and swine, which are become wilde. The wealth of these Ilands, be their sugarworkes and hides. There is much *Cassia fistula* & ginger. It is a thing incredible, to see the multitude of these marchandizes brought in one fleete, being in a maner impossible that all *Europe* should waste so much. They likewise bring wood of an excellent qualitie and colour, as *Ebone*, & others, which serve for buildings and Ioyners. There is much of that wood which they call *Lignum sanctum* or *Guage*, fit to cure the pox. All these Ilands and others thereabouts, which are many, have a goodly and pleasant aspect, for that throughout the yeere, they are beautified with grasse & greene trees, so as they cannot discern when it is Autumne or Summer, by reason of continuall moisture ioyned to the heate of the burning Zone. And although this land be
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of a great circuite, yet are there few dwellings, for that of it selfe it engenders great *Arcabutos*, as they call them, which be Groves or very thicke Coppes: and on the plaines there are many marishes and bogges. They give yet another notable reason, why they are so smally peopled, for that there have remained few naturall Indians, through the inconsideratenesse and disorder of the first Conquerors that peopled it: and therefore, for the most part, they vse *Negros*, but they cost deere, being very fit to till the land. There growes neither bread nor wine in these Ilands, for that the too great fertilitie and the vice of the soile, suffers them not to seede, but castes all forth in grasse, very vnequally. There are no olive trees, at the least, they beare no olives, but manie greene leaves pleasant to the view, which beare no fruite. The bread they vse is of *Cacave*, whereof we shall heereafter speake. There is gold in the riuers of these Ilands, which some draw forth, but in small quantitie, I was little lesse then a yeere in these ilands, and as it hath beene told me of the maine land of the *Indies*, where I have not been, as in *Florida*, *Nicaragua*, *Guatimala*, and others, it is in a maner of this temper, as I have described: yet have I not set downe every particular of Nature in these Provinces of the firme land, having no perfect knowledge thereof. The Countrie which doth most resemble *Spaine*, and the regions of *Europe*, in all the West *Indies*, is the realme of *Chille*, which is without the generall rule of these other Provinces, being seated without the burning Zone, and the Tropicke of *Capricorne*. This land of it selfe is coole and fertile; and brings forth all kindes of fruites that be in *Spaine*; it yeeldes great aboundance of bread and wine, and aboundes in pastures and cattell. The aire is whole-

wholefome and cleere, temperate betwixt heate and cold, winter and summer are very distinct, and there they finde great store of very fine gold. Yet this land is poore and smally peopled, by reason of their continuall warre with the *Auricanos*, and their associates, being a rough people and friends to libertie.

Of the vnknowne Land, and the diversitie of a whole day, betwixt them of the East and the West.

CHAP. 23.

There are great coniectures, that in the temperate Zone at the Antartike Pole, there are great and fertile lands: but to this day they are not discovered, neither do they know any other land in this Zone, but that of *Chille*, and some part of that land which runnes from *Ethiopia*, to the Cape of *Good Hope*, as hath been said in the first booke; neither is it knowne if there be any habitations in the other two Zones of the Poles, and whether the land continues and stretcheth to that which is towards the Antartike or South Pole. Neither do we know the land that lies beyond the straight of *Magellan*, for that the greatest height yet discovered, is in fiftie six degrees, as hath beene formerly saide; and toward the Artike or Northerne Pole, it is not knowne how farre the land extendes, which runnes beyond the Cape of *Mendoça*, and the *Caliphornes*, nor the bounds and end of *Florida*, neither yet how farre it extendes to the West. Of late, they have discovered a new land, which they call *New Mexico*, where they say is much people that speake the *Mexicaine* tongue. The *Philippines* and the following Ilands, as some report that know
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it by experience, ranne above nine hundred leagues. But to intreate of *China*, *Cochinchina*, *Syam*, and other regions which are of the East *Indies*, were contrary to my purpose, which is onely to discourse of the West: nay, they are ignorant of the greatest part of *America*, which lies betwixt *Peru* and *Bresill*, although the bounds be knowne of all sides, wherein there is diversitie of opinions; some say it is a drowned land, full of Lakes and waterie places; Others affirme there are great and flourishing kingdomes, imagining there be the *Paytiti*, the *Dorado*, and the *Cæsars*, where they say are wonderfull things. I have heard one of our company say, a man worthy of credite, that hee had seene great dwellings there, and the waies as much beaten, as those betwixt *Salamanca*, and *Villadillit*, the which he did see, whenas *Peter d'Orsua*, and after, those that succeeded him, made their entrie and discoverie by the great river of *Amazons*, who beleeving that the *Dorado* which they sought, was farther off, cared not to inhabite there, and after went both without the *Dorado*, which they could not finde, and this great Province which they left. To speake the truth, the habitations of *America*, are to this day vnknowne, except the extremities, which are *Peru*, *Bresill*, and that part where the land be- ginnes to straighten, which is the river of Silver, then *Tucuman*, which makes the round to *Chille* and *Charcas*. Of late we have vnderstood by letters from some of ours which go to *S. Croix*, in the *Sierre*, that they go discovering of great Provinces and dwellings, betwixt *Bresill* and *Peru*. Time will reveile them, for as at this day the care and courage of men is great, to compasse the world from one part to another; so wee may be- lieve, that as they have discovered that which is now knowne,

knowne, they may likewise lay open that which remaines, to the end the Gospell may be preached to the whole world, seeing the two Crownes of *Portugall* and *Castille*, have met by the East and West, ioyning their discoveries together, which in truth is a matter to be observed, that the one is come to *China* and *Iappan* by the East, and the other to the *Philippines*, which are neighbours, and almost ioyning vnto *China*, by the West: for from the Islands of *Lusson*, which is the chiefe of the *Philippines*, in the which is the Citie of *Mamille*, vnto *Macan*, which is in the Ile of *Canton*, are but foure score or a hundred leagues, and yet we finde it strange, that notwithstanding this small distance from the one to the other, yet according to their accompt, there is a daies difference betwixt them; so as it is Sunday at *Macan*, whenas it is but Saterday at *Mamille*, and so of the rest. Those of *Macan* and of *China* have one day advanced before the *Philippines*. It happened to father *Alonse Sanches*, of whom mention is made before, that parting from the *Philippines*, he arrived at *Macan* the second day of Maie, according to their computation, and going to say the Masse of *S. Athanasius*, he found they did celebrate the feast of the invention of the holy Crosse, for that they did then reckon the third of Maie. The like happened vnto him in another voyage beyond it.

Some have found this alteration and diversitie, strange, supposing that the fault proceedes from the one or the other, the which is not so: but it is a true and well observed computation, for according to the difference of waies where they have beene, we must necessarily say, that when they meete, there must bee difference of a day; the reason is, for that sailing from West

to East, they alwaies gaine of the day, finding the sunne rising sooner: and contrariwise, those that saile from East to West, do alwaies loose of the day, for that the Sunne riseth later vnto them; and as they approach nearer the East or the West, they have the day longer or shorter. In *Peru*, which is westward in respect of *Spaine*, they are above fixe houres behinde; so as when it is noone in *Spaine*, it is morning at *Peru*; and when it is morning heere, it is mid-night there. I have made certaine prooffe thereof, by the computation of Eclipses of the Sunne and Moone. Now that the Portugalls have made their navigations from West to East, and the Castillans from East to West, when they came to ioyne and meete at the *Philippines* and *Macan*, the one have gained twelve houres, and the other hath lost as much; so as at one instant, and in one time, they finde the difference of twentie houres, which is a whole day; so as necessarily, the one are at the third of Maie, whenas the others account but the second; and whenas the one doth fast for Easter eve, the others eate flesh for the day of the resurrection. And if we will imagine that they passe farther, turning once againe about the world, vsing the same computation, when they should returne to ioyne together, they should finde by the same account, two daies difference: for as I have saide, those that go to the Sunne rising, account the day sooner, for that the Sunne riseth to them sooner, and those that go to the setting, account the day later, for that it goes from them later: finally, the diversitie of the noone tide, causeth the divers reckoning of the day. And now for as much as those that doe saile from East to West, change their noone tide without perceiuing it, and yet still follow the same computation they

they did when they parted; of necessitie having made the compasse of the worlde, they must finde the want of a whole day in their computation.

Of the Volcans or Vents of fire. CHAP. 24.

ALthough we finde vents of fire in other places, as mount *Aetna* and *Wesuvio*, which now they call mount *Soma*, yet is that notable which is found at the *Indies*. Ordinarily these *Volcans* be rockes or pikes of most high mountaines, which raise themselves above the toppes of all other mountaines; vpon their toppes they have a plaine, and in the midst thereof a pitte or great mouth, which discends even vnto the foote thereof; a thing verie terrible to beholde. Out of these mouthes, there issues smoake, and sometimes fire: some cast little smoake, and have in a maner no force of *Volcans*, as that of *Arequipa*, which is of an vnmeasurable height, and almost all sand. It cannot be mounted vp in lesse then two daies, yet they have not found any shew of fire, but onely the reliques of some sacrifices which the Indians made while they were Gentiles, and sometimes it doth cause a little smoake. The *Volcan* of *Mexico* which is neere to the Village of Angels, is likewise of an admirable height, whereas they mount thirty leagues in turning: from this *Volcan* issueth not continually, but sometimes, almost every day, a great exhalation or whirle-winde of smoake, which ascends directly vp like to the shot of a Crosse-bow, and growes after like to a great plume of feathers, vntill it ceaseth quite, and is presently converted into an obscure and darke cloude. Most commonly it riseth in the morning

after the Sunne rising, and at night when it setteth, although I have seene it breake out at other times. Sometimes it dooth cast forth great store of ashes after this smoake. They have not yet seene any fire come from it; yet they feare it will issue forth and burne al the land round about, which is the best of all the kingdome: And they holde it for certaine, that there is some correspondencie betwixt this *Vulcan* & the *Sierre* of *Tlaxcala*, which is neere vnto it, that causeth the great thunders and lightnings they doe commonly heare and see in those parts.

Some Spaniards have mounted vppe to this *Volcan*, and given notice of the mine of sulphire to make powder thereof. *Cortez* reportes the care hee had to discover what was in this *Volcan*. The *Volcans* of *Guatimalla* are more renowned, as well for their greatnesse and height: which those that saile in the South Sea discover a farre off, as for the violence and terrour of the fire it casts. The three and twentieth day of December, in the yeere of our Lord God one thousand five hundred eighty and sixe, almost all the Cittie of *Guatimalla* fell with an Earthquake, and some people slaine. This *Volcan* had then fixe moneths together, day and night cast out from the toppe, and vomited as it were, a floud of fire, the substance falling vpon the sides of the *Volcan*, was turned into ashes like vnto burnt earth (a thing passing mans iudgement, to conceive how it could cast so much matter from its centre during fixe moneths, being accustomed to cast smoake alone, and that sometimes with small flashes. This was written vnto me being at *Mexico*, by a Secretarie of the audience of *Guatimalla*, a man woorthy of credite, and at that time it had not ceased to cast out fire. This yeere past, being

in *Quitto* in the Cittie of *Kings*, the *Volcan* which is neere therevnto, cast such aboundance of ashes, that in many leagues compasse thereabout it darkned the light of the day: and there fell such store in *Quitto*, as they were not able to goe in the streetes. There have beene other *Volcans* scene which cast neither smoake, flame; nor yet ashes, but in the botome they are scene to burn with a quicke fire without dying: such a one was that which in our time a covetous and greedy Priest seeing, perswaded himselfe that they were heapes of golde hee did see burning, imagining it coulde be no other matter or substance, which had burnt so many yeeres, and not consumed. And in this conceit hee made certaine kettles with chaines, and an instrument, to gather and drawe vp the golde out of this pitte or *Volcan*: but the fire scorned him, for no sooner did his yron chaine and caldron approach neere the fire, but sodainely they were broken in peeces. Yet some tolde mee, that this man was still obstinate, seeking other inventions for to drawe out this golde as he imagined.

What should be the reason why the fire and smoake continues so long in these Volcans? CHAP. 25.

There is no neede now to make any mention of other *Volcans*, seeing wee may well vnderstand by the former what they are: yet is it woorthy the search, what should be the cause why the fire and smoake continues in these *Volcans*; for that it seemes a prodigious thing, yea against the course of Nature, to vomite and cast out so many flames: Whence dooth this matter proceede, or whether it be ingendred within the bow-

elles thereof: Some have held opinion, that these *Volcans* consume the inner substance they have of Nature; and for this reason they beleeve, that naturally they shal end, whenas they have consumed the fuell (as a man may say) that is within them. According to which opinion we see at this day, some mountaines and rockes, from whence they drawe a burnt stone which is light, but very hard, and is excellent to builde with, as that which is carried to *Mexico*. And in effect there are some shewes of that which hath beene spoken, that these mountaines or rockes hadde sometimes a naturall fire, which hath died after the matter was consumed; and so these stones have remayned burnt and pierced with the fire as we see. For my part, I will not contradict it, that in those places there hath not bin fire sometimes, or *Volcans*. But there is some difficultie to be beleeve it should be so in all *Volcans*, considering the matter they cast out is almost infinite; and that being gathered together, it could not be contained in the same concavities from whence it goes. Moreover, there are some *Volcans*, that in hundreds, yea thousands of yeeres are alwaies of one fashion, casting out continually, smoke, fire, and ashes. *Plinie* the Historiographer of naturall things (as the other *Plinie* his nephew reports) searching out the secret how this should passe: and approaching too neere th'exhalation of fire of one of these *Volcans*, died; and thinking by his diligence to find an end thereof, had an end of his life. For my parte, vpon this consideration I think, that as ther are places in th'earth, whose vertue is to draw vaporous matter, and to convert it into water, which be the fountaines that alwayes runne, and have alwayes matter to make them runne, for that they drawe vnto them the substance of water.

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In like sorte there are places that have the propertie to draw vnto them hote exhalations, and to convert them into fire and smoake which by their force and violence cast out other thicke matter which dissolves into ashes, into pumice stone, or such like substance: and for a sufficient argument to proove it to be so in these *Volcans*, they sometimes cast smoke, and not alwayes, and sometimes fire, and not alwayes, which is according to that it can drawe vnto it, and digest, as the fountaines which in winter abound, and in summer decrease; yea some are quite dried vp, according to the force and vigour they have, and the matter that is presented: even so it is of these *Volcans*, which cast fire more or lesse at certaine seasons. Others say, that it is hell fire, which issueth there, to serve as a warning, thereby to consider what is in the other life: but if hell (as Divines holde) be in the centre of the earth, the which contains in diameter above two thousand leagues, we can not iudge that this fire is from the centre; for that hell fire (as saint Basil and others teach) is very different from this which wee see, for that it is without light, and burneth without comparison much more then ours. And therefore I conclude, that what I have saide, seemes to me more reasonable.

*Basil. psal. 28.
& in exam.*

Of Earthquakes. CHAP. 26.

SOME have held, that from these *Volcans* which are at the *Indies*, the earthquakes proceed, being very common there: but for that they ordinarily chance in places farre from those *Volcans*, it can not be the totall cause. It is true they have a certaine sympathy one with

another, for that the hote exhalations which engender in the inner concavities of the earth, seeme to be the materiall substance of fire in the *Volcans*, whereby there kindleth an other more grosse matter, and makes these shewes of flame and smoke that come forth. And these exhalations (finding no easie issue in the earth) move it, to issue forth with great violence, whereby we heare that horrible noise vnder the earth, and likewise the shaking of the earth, being stirred with this burning exhalation; Even as gunpowder in mines, having fire put to it breakes rockes and walles: and as the chesnut laid into the fire, leapes and breakes with a noyse, whenas it casts forth the aire (which is contained within the huske) by the force of the fire: Even so these Earthquakes do most commonly happen in places neere the water or sea. As we see in *Europe*, and at the *Indies*, that townes and cities farthest from the sea and waters are least afflicted therewith; and contrariwise, those that are seated vpon portes of the sea, vpon rivers, the sea coast, and places neere vnto them, feelee most this calamitie. There hath happened in *Pera*, (the which is wonderfull; and worthy to be noted) Earthquakes which have runne from *Chille* vnto *Quitto*, and that is aboue hundred leagues, I say the greatest that ever I heard speake of, for lesser be more common there. Vpon the coast of *Chille* (I remember not well in what yeare) there was so terrible an Earthquake, as it overturned whole mountains, and thereby stopped the course of rivers which it converted into lakes, it beat downe townes, and slew a great number of people, causing the sea to leave her place some leagues, so as the shippes remained on drie ground, farre from the ordinary roade, with many other heaue and horrible things. And as I well remember

ber, they say this trouble and motion, caused by the Earthquake, ranne three hundred leagues alongest the coast. Sooneafter, which was in the yeere eighty two, happened that Earthquake of *Arequipa*, which in a manner overthrew the whole citie. Since in the yeere eighty fixe, the ninth of Iulie, fell an other Earthquake in the cittie of *Kings*, the which as the Viceroy did write, hadde runne a hundred three score and tenne leagues alongest the coast, and overthwart in the *Sierre* fiftie leagues. The mercy of the Lord was great in this earthquake, to forewarne the people by a great noyse which they heard alittle before the Earthquake, who taught by former experiences, presently put themselves in safetie, leaving their houses, streetes, and gardins, to go into the fieldes; so as although it ruined a great parte of the Cittie, and of the chiefe buildings, yet there died not above fiftene or twenty persons of all the Inhabitants. It caused the like trouble and motion at sea, as it had done at *Chille*, which happened presently after the Earthquake, so as they might see the sea furiously to flie out of her boundes, and to runne neere two leagues into the land, rising above foureteene fadome: it covered all that plaine, so as the ditches and peeces of wood that were there, swamme in the water. There was yet an other earthquake in the Realme and Cittie of *Quito*; and it seemes all these notable Earthquakes vpon that coast, have succeeded one another by order, as in trueth it is subiect to these inconveniences. And therefore although vpon the coast of *Pernu*, there be no torments from heaven, as thunder and lightning, yet are they not without feare vpon the land: and so everie one hath before his eies, the Heraults of divine Iustice, to moove him to feare God. For as the Scripture saith,

Fecit

Fecit hec ut timeatur. Returning then to our purpose, I say the sea coast is most subiect to these earthquakes, the reason is, in my iudgement, for that the water dooth stop the conduites and passages of the earth, by which the hote exhalations should passe, which are engendered there. And also the humiditie thickning the superficies of the earth, dooth cause the fumes and hot exhalations to goe close together and incounter violently in the bowells of the earth, which doe afterwards breake forth.

Some have observed, that such Earthquakes have vsually hapned, whenas a rainie season falles after some drie yeeres. Wherevpon they say, that the Earthquakes are most rare, where are most welles, the which is approved by experience. Those of the Cittie of *Mexico* holde opinion, that the Lake whereon it is seated, is the cause of the Earthquakes that happen there, although they be not very violent and it is most certaine, that the Townes and Provinces, farre within the land, and farthest from the sea, receive sometimes great losses by these Earthquakes, as the Cittie of *Chachapoyas* at the *Indies*, and in *Italie* that of *Ferrara*, although vpon this subiect. It seemes this latter, being neere to a river, and not farre from the *Adriatic* sea, should rather be numbered among the sea-Townes. In the yeere of our Lord one thousand five hundred eightie and one, in *Cuziano*, a Cittie of *Pern*, otherwise called the Peace, there hapned a strange accident touching this subiect. A village called *Angoango* (where many Indians dwelt that were forcerers and idolaters) fell sodainely to ruine, so as a great parte thereof was raised vp and carried away, and many of the Indians smothered, and that which seems incredible (yet testified by men of credit) the earth that

was

was ruined and so beaten downe, did runne and slide vpon the land for the space of a league and a halfe, as it had bene water or wax molten, so as it stopt and filled vppe a Lake, and remayned so spread over the whole countrey.

How the land and sea imbrace one an other.

CHAP. 27.

I Wil end with this Element of earth, vniting it to the precedent of water, whose order and embracing is truly of it selfe admirable. These two elements have one spheare divided betweene them, and entertaine and embrace one another in a thousand sortes and manners. In some places the water encounters the land furiously as an enemy, and in other places, it inuirones it after a sweete and amiable manner. There are partes whereas the sea enters far within the land, as comming to visite it; and in other partes the land makes restitution, casting his capes, points and tongues farre into the sea, piercing into the bowelles thereof. In some partes one element ends and another beginnes, yeelding by degrees one vnto another. In some places (where they ioine) it is exceeding deepe, as in the Ilands of the South Sea, and in those of the North, whereas the shippes ride close to the land; and although they found three score and tenne, yea foure score fadomes, yet do they finde no bottome, which makes men coniecture, that these are pikes or poynts of land which rise vp from the bottome, a matter woorthy of great admiration. Heerevpon a very expert Pilote said vnto me, that the Ilands which they call of Woolves, and others, that lie
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at the entry of the coast of *New Spaine*, beeing called *Cocos*, were of this manner.

Moreover, there is a place in the midst of the great Ocean, without the view of land, and many leagues from it, where are seene as it were two towers or pikes of a very high elevated rocke, rising out of the middest of the sea, and yet ioyning vnto it they finde no bottome. No man can yet perfectly comprehend, nor conceive the full and perfect forme of the land at the *Indies*, the boundes being not wholly discovered to this day: yet wee may ghesse that it is proportioned like a heart with the lungs. The broadest of this heart is from *Bresill* to *Peru*, the poynt at the straight of *Magehan*, and the top where it ends is the firme land, and there the continent begins by little and litle to extend it selfe vntill wee come to the height of *Florida* and the vpper landes, which are not yet well discovered. We may vnderstand other particularities of this land at the *Indies*, by the Commentaries which the Spaniards have written of their successe and discoveries; and amongst the rest, of the Peregrination which I have written; which in trueth is strange, and may give a great light. This in my opinion may suffice at this time, to give some knowledge of things at the *Indies*, touching the common elements, of the which all parts of the worlde are famed.

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THE



THE
FOVRTH BOOKE
of the Naturall and Morall Hi-
storie of the Indies.

*Of three kindes of mixtures or compounds, of the which
I must intreate in this Historie.* CHAP. I.



Aving intreated in the former booke of that which concerns the Elements, and the simples of the *Indies*, in this present booke we will discourse of mixtures and compounds, seeming fit for the subject we shall treat of. And although there be many other sun-

drie kindes, yet we will reduce this matter into three, which are Mettalls, Plants, and Beasts. Mettalls are (as plants,) hidden and buried in the bowels of the earth, which have some conformitie in themselves, in the forme and maner of their production; for that wee see and discover even in them, branches, and as it were a bodie, from whence they grow and proceede, which
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are the greater veines and the lesse, so as they have a knitting in themselves: and it seemes properly that these minerales grow like vnto plants, not that they have any inward vegetative life, being onely proper to plants: but they are engendered in the bowels of the earth, by the vertue and force of the Sunne and other planets, and in long continuance of time, they increase and multiply after the maner of plants. And even as mettalls be plants hidden in the earth, so we may say, that plants be living creatures fixed in one place, whose life is maintained by the nourishment which Nature furnisheth from their first beginning. But living creatures surpasse plants, in that they have a more perfect being; and therefore have neede of a more perfect foode and nourishment; for the search whereof, Nature hath given them a moving and feeling to discover and discerne it. So as the rough and barren earth is as a substance and nutriment for mettalls; and that which is fertile and better seasoned a nourishment for plants. The same plants serve as a nourishment for living creatures, and the plants and living creatures together as a nourishment for men; the inferiour nature alwaies serving for the maintenance and sustentation of the superiour, and the lesse perfect yeelding vnto the more perfect: whereby we may see how much it wants, that gold and silver and other things which men so much esteeme by their covetousnesse, should be the happines of man, wherevnto he should tend, seeing they be so many degrees in qualitie inferior to man, who hath been created and made onely to be a subiect to serve the vniversall Creator of all things; as his proper end and perfect rest; and to which man, all other things in this world, were not propounded or left; but to gaine

this

this last end. Who so would consider of things created; and discourse according to this Philosophie, might draw some fruite from the knowledge and consideration thereof, making vse of them to know and glorifie their Author. But he that would passe on farther to the knowledge of their properties and profits, and would curiously search them out, hee shall finde in these creatures, that which the Wiseman saies, that they are snares and pitfallles to the feete of fooles & ignorant, into the which they fall and loose themselves daily. To this intent therefore, and that the Creator may be glorified in his creatures, I pretend to speake of some things in this Booke, whereof there are many at the *Indies* worth the report, touching mettalls, plants, and beasts, which are proper and peculiar in those parts. But for that it were a great worke to treat thereof exactly, and requires greater learning and knowledge; yea, much more leisure then I have, my intent is only to treat of some things succinctly, the which I have observed; as well by experience, as the report of men of credite. touching these three things which I have propounded; leaving to men more curious and diligent to treat more amply of these matters.

Sap. 14.

Of the abundance and great quantitie of Mettall at the West Indies. CHAP. 2.

THe wisdome of God hath made mettalls for phisicke, and for defence, for ornament and for instruments for the worke of men; of which foure things we may easily yeelde examples; but the principall end of mettalls, and the last thereof, is, for that the life of man hath

hath not onely neede of nourishment as the beasts, but also he must worke and labour according vnto the reason and capacitie which the Creator hath given him. And as mans vnderstanding doth apply it selfe to diuers artes and faculties, so the same Author hath given order, that hee should finde matter and subiect to diuerse artes, for the conservation, reparation, suretie, ornament and exaltation of his workes. The diuersitie therefore of mettalls, which the Creator hath shut vp in the closets and concavities of the earth, is such, and so great, that man drawes profit and commoditie from everie one of them. Some serve for curing of diseases, others for armes and for defence against the enemies, some are for ornament and beautifying of our persons and houses, and others are fit to make vessels and yron-workes, with diuers fashions of instruments, which the industry of man hath found out and put in practise. But above all the vses of mettalls, which bee simple and natural, the communication and commerce of men hath found out one, which is the vse of money, the which (as the Philosopher saith) is the measure of all things. And although naturally, and of it selfe, it be but one onely thing, yet in value and estimation wee may say, that it is all things. Mony is vnto vs as it were, meate, clothing, house, horse, and generally whatsoever man hath neede of. By this meanes all obeyes to mony, and as the Wise man saith, to finde an invention that one thing should be all. Men guided or thrust forward by a naturall instinct, choose the thing most durable and most maniable, which is mettall, and amongst mettalls, gave them the preheminence in this invention of mony, which of their nature were most durable and incorruptible, which is silver and golde.

The

*Arist 5. Ethic.
cap. 5.*

Eccles. 10.

Historie of the Indies lib.4. 207

The which have bin in esteeme, not onlie amongst the *Hebrewes*, *Asirians*, *Greekes*, *Romans*, and other nations of *Europe* and *Asia*, but also amongst the most retyred and barbarous nations of the world, as by the *Indians* both East and West, where gold and silver is held in great esteeme, imploying it for the workes of their Temples and Pallaces, & for the attyring and ornament of kings and great personages. And although we have found some *Barbarians*, which know neither gold nor silver, as it is reported of those of *Florida*, which tooke the bagges and sackes wherein the silver was, the which they cast vpon the ground, and left as a thing vnprofitable. And *Plinie* likewise writes of the *Babitacques*, which abhorred gold, and therefore they buried it, to the end that no man should vse it. But at this day they finde few of these *Floridiens* or *Babitacques*, but great numbers of such as esteeme, seeke, and make account of gold and silver, having no neede to learne it of those that go from *Europe*. It is true, their covetousnesse is not yet come to the height of ours, neither have they so much worshipped gold and silver, although they were Idolaters, as some blinde Christians, who have committed many great out-rages for gold and silver. Yet is it a thing very worthy consideration, that the wisdome of the Eternall Lord, would enrich those partes of the world, which are most remote, and which are peopled with men of lesse civilitie and government, planting there great store of mines, and in the greatest aboundance that ever were, thereby to invite men to search out those lands, and to possesse them, to the end that by this occasion, they might plant religion, and the worship of the true God, amongst those that knew it not, fulfilling therein the prophetic of

P

Isaie,

208 *The Naturall and Morall**Isaie. 54.**Aug. lib. 1. de
con. or. evang.
cap. 31.*

Isaie, saying, that the Church should stretch forth her boundes, not onely to the right, but also to the left: which is vnderstood as *S. Augustine* saith, that the Gospell should be spread abroad, not onely by those that sincerely, and with a true & perfect charity preach and declare it, but also by those that publish it, tending to temporall ends; whereby wee see, that the Indian land, being more abundant in mines and riches, hath beene in our age best instructed in the Christian religion, the Lord vying our desires and inclinations to serve his soveraigne intentions. Herevpon a Wise man said, that what a father doth to marie his daughter wel, is to give her a great portion in mariage; the like hath God done for this land so rough and laboursome, giving it great riches in mines, that by this meanes it might be the more sought after. At the West *Indies* then there are great store of mines of all sortes of mettalls, as copper, yron, lead, tinne, quicke-silver, silver and gold: and amongst all the regions and partes of the *Indies*, the realmes of *Pern* abound most in these mettalls, especially with gold, silver, quicke-silver, or mercurie, whereof they have found great store, and daily discover new mines. And without doubt, according to the qualitie of the earth, those which are to discover, are without comparison, farre more in number, then those which are yet discovered: yea, it seemes that all the land is sowed with these mettalls, more then any other in the world that is yet knowne vnto vs, or that ancient writers have made mention of.

of

of the qualitie and nature of the earth where the mettalls are found, and that all these mettalls are not imployed at the Indies, and how the Indians used them.

CHAP. 3.

THE reason why there is so great abundance of mettalls at the *Indies*, (especially at the west of *Peru*, as I have saide,) is the will of the Creator, who hath imparted his giftes as it pleased him. But coming to a naturall and philosophicall reason, it is very true, which *Philon* a wise man writes, saying, that gold, silver, and mettalls, grow naturally in land that is most barren and vnfruitefull. And we see, that in lands of good temperature, the which are fertile with grasse and fruites, there are seldome found any mines; for that Nature is contented to give them vigour to bring forth fruites more necessarie for the preservation and maintenance of the life of beasts and men. And contrariwise to lands that are very rough, drie, and barren, (as in the highest mountains and inaccessible rockes of a rough temper,) they finde mines of silver, of quicke-silver and of gold, and all those riches (which are come into *Spaine* since the West *Indies* were discovered) have been drawne out of such places which are rough and full, bare and fruitlesse: yet the taste of this mony, makes these places pleasing and agreeable, yea, well inhabited with numbers of people. And although there be, as I have said, many mines of all kinds of mettalls as at the *Indies*, yet they vse none but those of gold and silver, and as much quicke-silver as is necessarie to refine their gold and silver. They carrie yron thither from *Spaine* and *China*. As for copper, the Indians have drawne

Philo. lib 5. de Genes. mund.

Euseb. lib 8. de prepar. evanc.

of it, and vsed it for their armes, the which were not vsually of yron, but of copper. Since the Spaniards possessed the *Indies*, they have drawne very little, neither do they take the paine to seeke out these mines, although there be many busying themselves in the search of richer and more precious mettalls, wherein they spend their time & labour. They vse no other mettalls, as copper, and yron, but only that which is sent them from *Spaine*, or that which remaines of the refining of gold and silver. We finde not that the Indians in former times vsed gold, silver, or any other mettall for money, and for the price of things, but only for ornament, as hath beene said; whereof there was great quantitie in their Temples, Palaces, and Toombes, with a thousand kindes of vessels of gold and silver, which they had. They vsed no gold nor silver to trafficke or buy withall, but did change and trucke one thing for another, as *Homer* and *Plinie* report of the Ancients. They had some other things of greater esteeme, which went currant amongst them for price, and in steede of coine: and vnto this day this custome continues amongst the Indians, as in the Provinces of *Mexico*, in steede of money they vse *Cacao*, (which is a small fruite,) and therewith buy what they will. In *Peru* they vse *Coca*, to the same end, (the which is a leafe the Indians esteeme much,) as in *Paraguay*, they have stamper of yron for coine, and cotten woven in *S. Croix*, of the *Sierre*. Finally, the maner of the Indians trafficke, and their buying and selling, was to exchange, and give things for things: and although there were great marts and famous faires, yet had they no neede of money, nor of brokers, for that every one had learned what he was to give in exchange for every kinde of marchandise.

Since

*Plin. lib. 33.
cap. 3.*

Since the Spaniards entred, the Indians have vsed gold and silver to buy withall : and in the beginning there was no coine, but silver by weight was their price and mony, as they report of the ancient Romans. Since, for a greater benefite, they have forged coine in *Mexico* and *Peru*, yet vnto this day they have not in the West Indies, coined any mony of copper or other mettall but onely of silver and golde : for the riches of that Countrie hath not admitted nor received such money as they call bullion, nor other kindes of alloy, which they vse in *Italie*, and in other Provinces of *Europe*; Although in some Ilands of the Indies, as *S. Dominique* & *Port Ricco*, they vse coine of leather, which is square, the which are currant onely in those Ilands, having little silver or gold. I say little, although there be much, for that no man digges it and refines it. But for that the riches of the Indies, and their maner to labour in the mines, consistes of golde, silver, and quicke silver, I will speake some thing of these three mettalls, leaving the rest for this time.

Plin. lib. 33. c. 4

Of golde which they digge and refine at the Indies.

CHAP. V. Gold amongst other mettalls hath bin alwayes held the most excellent; and with reason, beeing the most durable and incorruptible of all others; for fire which consumes and diminisheth the rest, amends it, and brings it to perfection. Golde which hath often passed through the fire, keepes his colour, and is most fine and pure; which properly is called (as *Plinie* saith) *Obriso*, whereof the Scripture makes so often mention, &

vse, which consumeth all other mettalles, (as the same
Plin.lib.33.c.3 *Plinie* saith) dooth not any thing waste golde, nor yet
hurte it, neither is it eaten, nor groweth olde. And al-
though his substance and body be firme and solide; yet
dooth it yeelde and bow woonderfully; the Beaters and
Drawers of golde knowe well the force it hath to bee
drawen out without breaking. All which things well
considered, with other excellent properties, will give
men of iudgement to vnderstand, wherefore the holie
Scripture dooth compare Charitie to golde. To con-
clude, there is little neede to relate the excellencies
thereof to make it more desirable. For the greatest ex-
cellencie it hath, is to be knowne (as it is) amongst men,
for the supream power and greatnesse of the worlde.
Comming therefore to our subiect; at the *Indies* there
is great abundance of this mettall, and it is wel knowne
by approoved histories, that the *Inguas* of *Pern* did not
content themselves with great and small vessels of gold,
as pots, cups, goblets, and flagons; yea with kowles or
great vessels, but they had chaines also, and litters of
massie golde: and in their Temples they had set vpp
maine Images of pure golde, whereof they finde some
yet at *Mexico*, but not such store as when the first Con-
querours came into the one and the other kingdome,
who found great treasure, and without doubt there was
much more hidden in the earth by the Indians. It would
seeme ridiculous to reporte that they have made their
horse shooes of silver for want of yron, and that they
have payd three hundred crownes for a bottle of wine,
and other strange things; and yet in trueth this hath
come to passe; yea and greater matters. They drawe
golde in those partes, after three sorts: or at the least, I
have seene all three vsed. For eyther they find gold in
graines,

Apoec. 3. & 21.
Cant. 3.
Psal. 67.
3. Reg. 6.

graines, in powder, or in stone. They do call golde in graines, small morsels of gold, which they find whole, without mixture of any other mettall, which hath no neede of melting or refining in the fire: and they call them pippins, for that commonly they are like to pippins, or seeds of melons, or pompions: and that whereof *Iob* speakes, when he saies, *Leve illius aurum*, though *Iob* 18. sometimes there be greater, and such as I have seene weighed many poundes. It is the excellencie of this mettall alone (as *Plinie* affirms) to be found thus pure and perfect, which is not seene in any other mettalles, which are alwayes earthly, and have a scumme, and neede purging by the fire: I have likewise seene silver naturall like to

Plin. lib. 3. ca. 5

Yea there is an other kinde which the Indians call *Papas*, and sometimes they find peeces very fine and pure, like to small round rootes, the which is rare in that mettall, but vsuall in gold. They finde little of this golde in pippin, in respect of the other kindes. Golde in stone is a veine of gold that groweth or ingendereth within the stone or flint, as I have seene in the mines of *Curuma*, within the government of *Salines*, very great stones pierced and intermixed with gold; others that were halfe gold, and halfe stone. The golde which groweth in this manner, is found in pittes or mines, which have their veines like to the silver mines, but it is very hard to drawe it forth: *Agatharchides* writes in his first booke of the *Eritbrean* or red sea (as *Phocion* reportes in his *Bibliotheca*) of the manner and fashion to refine golde, drawne out of stones, the which the antient Kings of *Egypt* were wont to vse, & it is a strange thing to see how that which is written resembles properly to the manner they vse at this day in refining these mettalls of golde and silver. The great

test quantitie of golde which is drawne at the *Indies*, is that in powder, the which is found in streames and places wher much water hath passed, because the flouds at the *Indies* abound in this kinde of golde; As the Ancients for this occasion did celebrate the river of *Tagus* in *Spaine*, *Pactolus* in *Asia*, and *Ganges* in the East *Indies*, and called them *Ramenta auri*, the which we others call golde in powder, and of this sort is the greatest quantitie of golde they have at this day. At this present in the Ilands of *Barlovent*, *Hispaniola*, *Cuba*, and *Port Ricco*, there hath beene, and is great quantity in the rivers, but they bring little from thence into *Spaine*, for want of the naturall inhabitants of the country, & the difficultie to drawe it. There is great abundance in the kingdom of *Chille*, of *Quitto*, and in the new Realme of *Grenado*.

The most famous golde is that of *Caranava* in *Peru*, and of *Valdivia* in *Chille*; for that it riseth with his alloy and perfection, which is twenty three carrats and a halfe, and sometimes more. They make accompt likewise of the gold of *Veragua* to be very fine. They bring much golde to *Mexico* from the *Philippines*, and *China*, but commonly it is weake, and of base alloy. Golde is commonly found mixt with silver or with copper; but that which is mixed with silver is commonly of fewer carrats then that which is mixed with copper. If there be a fift parte of silver, *Plinie* saith, it is then properly called *Electrum*, which hath the property to shine more at the light of the fire, then fine gold or fine silver. That which is incorporate with copper, is commonly of a higher value. They refine pouldred golde in basens, washing it in many waters, vntill the sand fall from it, and the golde as most heaue remaineth in the bottom.

Plin. lib. 3. ca. 4

to me. They refine it likewise with quicke-silver and strong water, for that the allume whereof they make this water hath the vertue to separate gold from drosse, or from other mettalls. After it is purified and molten, they make bricke or small barres to cary it vnto *Spaine*; for being in powder, they cannot transport it from the *Indies*, for they can neither custome it, marke it, nor take say, vntill it be molten. The foresaide Historiographer reporteth that *Spaine* above all other Countries of the world, did abound in gold and silver; especially *Galitia* and *Portugall*, & above all, the *Asturians*, whence hee saith they brought every yeere twenty thousand pounds of golde, and that they found not so great aboundance in any other place. The which is confirmed in the booke of *Macabees*, where it is saide, that amongst the great riches of the Romans, they had in their power, the golde and silver of *Spaine*. At this day the great treasure of *Spaine* comes from the *Indies*, wherein the diuine Providence hath appoynted one Realme to serue another, which doe imparte their wealth to participate their gouernement for the good the one of the other, in communicating mutually the goodes and graces they doe inioy: wee can not value nor esteeme the quantitie of golde that is brought from the *Indies*; but we may well say, it is much more then that which *Pliny* reports was brought yeerely from *Spaine* to *Rome*. In the fleete where I came, which was in the yeere, 1585. the declaration of the firme land was of of twelve cassons or chests of golde, every casson at the least weied foure *Arabes*, that is a hundred weight; and a thousand fiftie and sixe mares from New *Spaine*, which was for the King only, besides that which came for Merchants and private men being registred; and much

Plin. lib. 33. c. 4

1. Maccab. 8.

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much that came vnregistred. This may suffice touching the golde of the *Indies*, and now we will speake of silver.

Of the Silver at the Indies. CHAP. 5.

Iob 28.

WE reade these wordes in the Booke of *Iob*, *Silver hath certain beginnings and roots in his veins, and golde hath a settled place, where it ingenders and thickens, yron with digging is drawne out of the earth, and stone molten with heate is turned into copper*: Hereby he wisely shewes in few words, the nature of silver, golde, yron & copper. We have spoken something of the places where golde is ingendered and congealed, which is either of the foresaide stones in the deapth of mountaines, and in the bowells of the earth: or in the sand of rivers, and where brookes have runne, or else on the toppes of mountaines, the which golde in powder runnes downe with the water. And this is the common opinion they holde at the *Indies*. Wherevpon many of the common sort believe that the deluge (having drowned all, even to the higheft hills) hath beene the cause that at this day they finde this golde in the rivers, and in places so farre off. Now we wil shew how they discover the mines of silver, their veins, rootes, and beginnings whereof *Iob* speakes.

And first I will say, that the reason why they give silver the second place among all other mettalles, is, for that it approacheth neerer to golde then any other, being more durable and lesse indamaged by the fire, and more maniable then any other: yea it passeth golde in brightnesse, beauty and sound, the which is cleere, and agreeable, for the colour is more conformable and resembling

sembling the light, and the sound more percing, more lively, and more delicate. Likewise there are some places where they value silver more then golde. It is yet an argument, to iudge that gold is more pretious then all other mettalls, for that it is found with greater difficultie; and Nature seemes more sparing in bringing it forth (although there be countries as they say of *Chine*) where they finde golde more easily then silver: yet it is more common and ordinarie, to finde silver with more facilitie and greater abundance then gold. The Creator hath furnished the Weast *Indies* with so great a treasure of silver, as all that which we reade of in antient Histories, and that which is spoken of the mines of *Spain*, and other provinces, is not comparable to that we see in those partes. The mines of silver are commonly found in mountaines, and high rockes very desart, although they have sometimes bin found in Plaines and Champaines. There are two different kindes, the one they call stragling, the other fixed and settled. The stragling, are peeces of metall found in certaine places, the which drawne away, there is no more found. But the fixed veines, are those which have a continuance in depth and length, like to great branches and armes of trees; and when they find anie one of them, they commonly finde many in the same place. The maner to purge & refine silver which the *Tu-dians* have vsed, was by melting, in dissolving this masse of metall by fire, which casts the earthly drosse aparte, and by his force separates silver from lead, tinne from copper, and other mettalls mixt. To this end they did build small furnaces in places whereas the winde did commonly blow, and with wood and cole made their refining, the which furnaces in *Piru* they call *Guayras*.

Since

Since the Spaniards entred, besides this manner of refining which they vse to this day: they likewise refine silver with quicke-silver, and draw more by this means then in refining it by fire. For there is some kind of silver mettall found which can by no meanes be purged, and refined by fire, but onely with quicke-silver. But this kinde of mettall is commonly poore and weake, the which vsually they finde in greatest abundance. They cal that poore which yields least silver, and great quantitie of other mettall, and that rich which yieldes most silver. It is strange to see, not onely the difference betwixt the refining of mettall by fire, and without it by quicke-silver, but also that some of these mettalles, which are refined by the fire, can not well be molten with any artificiall winde, as with bellowes; but when it is kindled and blowen with the naturall ayre, or naturall winde. The mettall of the mines of *Porco* is easily refined with bellowes, and that of the mines of *Potozi* cannot be molten with bellowes, but only by the breath of their *Guayras*, which are small furnaces vpon the sides of the mountaines, built expressely where the winde lies, within the which they melt this mettall; and though it be hard to yelde a reason for this difference, yet is it most certaine and approoved by long experience: so as the greedie desire of this mettall so much valued amongst men, hath made them seek out a thousand gentle inventions and devises, whereof wee will heereafter make mention. The chiefe places of the *Indies* from whence they drawe silver, are New *Spaine*, and *Peru*; but the mines of *Peru* farre surpass the rest, and amongst all others of the worlde, those of *Potozi*, whereof wee will intreate a little at leasure, being the most famous and remarkable things at the *Indies*.

of the mountaine or hill of Potozi, and the discovery thereof. CHAP. 6.

THe mountaine or hill of *Potozi* so famous, scituate in the Province of *Charcas*, in the kingdome of *Peru*, distant from the Equinoctiall towards the South, or Pole Antartike, 21. degrees and two thirds: so as it falles vnder the Tropicke, bordering vpon the burning Zone, and yet this region is extreemely cold, yea, more then old *Castill* in the kingdome of *Spaine*, and more then *Flanders* it selfe, although by reason it should be hote or temperate, in regard of the height and elevation of the Pole where it is seated. The reason of this so cold a temperature, is the height of the mountaine, whereas colde and intemperate windes continually blow, especially that which they call *Thomahuri*, which is boistrous and most cold. It raines most commonly in Iune, Iulie, and August. The ground and soile of this mountaine is drie, cold, and very vnpleasant, yea altogether barren, which neither engenders nor brings forth any fruite, grasse, nor graine; it is naturally inhabitable, for the intemperature of the heaven, and the barrennes of the earth. But the force of silver, which drawes vnto it the desire of all things, hath peopled this mountaine more then any other place in all these Kingdomes, making it so fruitfull of all kindes of meats, as there wantes nothing that can be desired, yea, in great aboundance; and although there be nothing but what is brought by carriage, yet every place abounds so with fruite, conserues exquisite wines, silkes, & all other delicats, as it is not inferiour to any other part. This mountaine is of colour darke red, and is in forme pleasing

sing at the first sight, resembling perfectly the fashion of a pavilion, or of a sugar loafe. It exceeds all other hilles and mountaines about it in height. The way whereby they ascend, is very rough and vneven, and yet they go vpon horse-backe. It is round at the top, & at the foote it hath a league in circuite. It contains from the toppe to the bottome 1680. common yarges, the which reduced to the measure of Spanish leagues, makes a quarter of a league. At the foote of this mountaine there is another small hill that riseth out of it, in the which there hath beene sometimes mines of metall dispearfed, which were found as it were in purses, and not in fixed or continued veines; yet were they very rich, though few in number. This small rocke was called by the Indians *Guayna Potozi*, which is yong *Potozi*; at the foote whereof beginnes the dwellings of the Spaniards and Indians, which are come to the riches and worke of *Potozi*, which dwelling may containe some two leagues in circuite, and the greatest traficke and commerce of all *Peru* is in this place. The mines of this mountaine were not digged nor discovered in the time of their *Inguas*, which were the Lordes of *Peru*, before the Spaniardes entred; although they had digged and opened the mines of *Porco*, neere to *Potozi*, distant onely sixe leagues. The reason might be the want of knowledge thereof, although some do report I know not what fable; that having sometimes laboured to open those mines, a voyce was heard, commanding them not to touch it, being reserved for others. In trueth they had no knowledge of *Potozi*, nor of the wealth thereof, till after twelve yeeres that the Spaniards were entred into *Peru*, the discovery whereof was made in this manner.

Historie of the Indies lib. 3. 221

An Indian called *Gualpa*, of the Nation of *Chumbibilca*, which is a Province of *Cusco*, going one day to hunt for venison, passing towards the west whither the beast was fled, he beganne to runne vppe against the rocke, which at that time was covered and planted with certaine trees, they call *Quinna*, and with thick bushes, and as he strived to gette vp a way which was somewhat rough and vneasie, hee was forced to lay holde vpon a braunch, which issued from a veine of a silver mine (which since they have called *Rich*) which he pulled vp, perceiving in the hole or roote thereof, mettall, the which hee knew to be very good, by the experience hee had of the mines of *Porco*: and after finding vpon the ground, certaine peecees of mettall, which lay broken and dispersed neere to this veine, being scarce well able to iudge thereof, for that the colour was spoyled and changed by the Sunne and raine. He carried it to *Porco* to trie by the *Guayras* (which is the triall of mettall by fire, and having thereby found the great riches and his happy fortune, he secretly digged and drew mettall out of this veine, not imparting it to any man, vntil that an Indian called *Guanca*, of the valley of *Xaura*, which is vpon the bordures of the Citie of *Kings*, who remaining at *Porco*, neere vnto *Gualpa* of *Chumbibilca*, perceived one day that he made a refining, and that his wedges and bricke were greater then such as were vsually made in those places: and also increasing in his expence of apparrell, having till then lived but basely. For this reason, and for that the mettall his neighbour refined was different from that of *Porco*, he thought to discover this secret, and wrought so, that although the other kept it as secret as hee could, yet thorough importunitie he was forced to carry him vnto the rocke

rocke of *Potozi*, having enioyed this rich treasure full two months. And then *Gualpa* the Indian willed *Guanca* for his part to take a veine, which he had discovered neare to the rich veine, which at this day is called the veine of *Diego Centeno*, that was not lesse rich, but more hard to digge and to drawe foorth; and so by agreement they divided betweene them the richest rocke in the world. It chaunced after, the Indian *Guanca* finding some difficulty to digge and drawe foorth his metall, being most hard, and the other *Gualpa* refusing to impart any of his mine vnto him, they fell at debate; so as *Guanca* of *Xaura* grieved therewith, and with some other discontents, discovered this secret vnto his maister called *Villaroel* a Spaniard, who then remained at *Porco*. This *Villaroel* desirous to vnderstand the trueth, went to *Potozi*, & finding the riches his *Tanacona* or servant had discovered vnto him, caused the Indian *Guanca* to be inrolled, vndertaking with him the saide veine, which was called *Centeno*, they call it vndertaking, that is as much as to note and marke the mine, and so much ground in circuite for him; which the Lawe graunts vnto those that discover any mine; or vnto those that digge them: by meanes whereof, having discovered them to the Iustice, they remayned Lords of the mine, to dig and drawe foorth the silver, as being their owne, paying only their duties vnto the King, which is a fift parte. So as the first discovery and inregistring of the mines of *Potozi* was the 21. of April, in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand five hundred fortie five in the territorie of *Porco*, by the saide *Villaroel* a Spaniard, and *Guanca* an Indian. Presently after they discovered another veine, which they called the veine of *Tinne*, the which is very rich, although it be rough and very painfull

full to worke in, the mettall being as hard as flint. Since the thirtie day of August in the same yeere of a thousand five hundred forty and five the veine called *Mendicua* was inrolled, and these are the foure principall veines of *Potozi*. They say of the rich veine, the first that was discovered that the metall lay above the ground the height of a launce, like vnto rockes, raising the superficies of the earth, like vnto a crest of three hundred foote long, and thirteene foote broad, and that this remained bare & vncovered by the deluge. This veine having resisted the violence and force of the water, as the hardest part. The mettall was so rich as it was halfe silver, and this veine continued in his bounty fiftie or three score stades, which is the height of a man, and then it failed. In this maner the mines of *Potozi* were discovered by the Divine Providence, who (for the felicitie of *Spaine*) would have the greatest treasure that ever was in this world, discovered, at such time whenas the Emperour *Charles* the fift of famous memorie held the Empire, the kingdomes of *Spaine*, and the Seigniorie of the *Indies*. Presently after that, the discoverie of *Potozi* was knowne in *Peru*, many Spaniardes, and the most parte of the Bourgeois of the silver Cittie, which is eightene leagues from *Potozi*, came thither to take mines: yea there came many Indians from divers provinces, especially the *Guayacadores* of *Porco*, so as within a short space it was the best peopled habitation of all the kingdome.

*Of the treasure which is daily drawne from the rocke
or mountaine of Potozi.* CHAP. 7.

I Have often doubted, if in antient Histories there were found any so rich mines, as those we have seen

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in our time in *Peru*. If there were ever rich mines in the worlde, and famous for this effect, they have bin those of *Spaine*, which they of *Carthage* did inioy, and since, the *Romans*, the which as I have saide, are not onely famous and esteemed in prophane bookes, but also, in the holy Scriptures. Hee that maketh most particular mention of these mines, at the least that I have seene, is

Plinie, who writeth thus in his naturall Historie: *They finde silver almost in all provinces, but that of Spaine is the best, which growes and ingenders in a barren soile, vpon mountaines and rockes. It is a certaine and infallible thing, that in places where they have once discovered any of these veines, there are others not farre off, which is likewise found in all other mettalls, and for this the Greekes, in my opinion, called them mettalls. It is strange that the pits or holes of these mines of Spaine, the which they beganne to digge in Hannibals time, are at this day, and hold the names of their discoverers. Amongst these mines, that which Bebello discovered, which holdes his name vnto this day, was very famous; and they say it yeelded so great riches to Hanniball, that euery day they gathered three hundred pounds weight of silver, and vnto this day they have alwaies continued labouring in this mine so as it is now digd 15. hundred pases deep into the mountaine. Out of which pits, notwithstanding the deapth, the Gascoines that labour in them drawe out the water, that they may worke with more ease, whilst their candelles and lights last, and that in such abundance, as it seemes to be a river. Hitherto are the woordes of Pliny, the which I would set downe word by word, the better to content such as know what mines be, seeing that what is tried at this day, was then in vse. And truly the riches of this mine of Hannibal vpon the Pirrenean hilles, was great and famous, which the Romans possessed, having continued*

*Genebrard. in
Chronograph.*

tinued the worke even vnto *Plinius* time, which was about three hundred yeeres. The deapth of this mine was fifteene hundred pases, which is a mile and a halfe: and it was so rich in the beginning, that it was woorth daily to the maister thereof three hundred poundes, at twelve ounces to the pound. But although this were a great treasure, it did not approach neere to that which in our time hath bin found in *Potozi*: for as it appeareth by the Registers of the house of contraction of that Province, and as many antient men worthy of credite doe testifie, whenas the licentiate *Pollo* governed that Province, the which was many yeeres after the discovery of this mountaine, they did every saterday enter a hundred and fifty and two hundred thousand peeces, whereof the Kings fist amounted to thirty and forty thousand peeces; and for every yeere a million and a halfe, or little lesse. So as according to that computation they didde drawe every day from this mine thirtie thousand peeces; whereof there came to the King for his fist, sixe thousand peeces a day.

Every peece is worth 13. rialls & a fourth part

There is yet another thing to be spoken of, to shew the riches of *Potozi*, that the account which hath been made, was only of silver that was marked and customed. And it is wel knowne in *Pernu*, that they have long vsed silver in these Realmes, which they call currant, which was neither marked nor customed. And they holde it for certain which know these mines, that in these daies, the greatest parte of silver drawne at *Potozi*, was not customed, and this had course amongst the Indians, and much amongst the Spaniardes, as I have seene continued to mytime, so as it may appeare, the third part of the riches of *Potozi*, yea the one halfe came not to light, neither was it customed. There is yet a more notable

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consideration, in that which *Plinie* saith, they hadde digged a fiftene hundred pases in this mine of *Bebello*, and that continually they found water, which is the greatest hinderance they have to drawe foorth theyr mettall. But in this of *Potozi*, although they have digged two hundred stades or heights of a man in deapth; yet did they never finde any water, which is the greatest happinesse of this mountaine. But the mines of *Porco*, whose mettall is good and very rich, are at this day left for the discommoditie of water, which they have found in their worke; for they are two insupportable labours in searching of the mettall; first to digge and breake the rockes, and then to drawe out the water all together. The first of them, that is, to cut through the rockes, is paine enough; yea very hard and excessive: finally, at this day the King receives for his fift yeerely, from the mines of *Potozi*, a million of silver, besides the wealth that growes by quicke silver, and other royal prerogatives, which is a great treasure. Some men of iudgement having cast vp the accomptes, say, that what hath beene brought into the custome house of *Potozi*, vnto the yeere of our Lord, one thousand five hundred eighty and five, amounteth vnto a hundred thousand millions of peeces of essay, whereof every Peece is woorth thirteene rials, and a fourth parte, not reckoning the silver which hath bin caried away without custome, or that hath beene entred in other roiall custome houses, or the silver that hath beene wrought in the country, which is not entred, the which is innumerable, although the first Registers of Entries are not so exactly kept as at this day; for that in the beginning and first discoveries, they made their receipt by *Romans*, so great was their aboundance.

But

Historie of the Indies. lib. 4. 227

But by the instructions and remembraunces of *Don Francisco de Toledo* the Viceroy in the yeare of our Saviour Christ, one thousand five hundred seaventy and foure they find seventy and sixe millions to that yeere: and from that yeare to eighty five inclusive, it appears by the royall registers, there were thirty five millions more entred. They sent this accompt to the Viceroy from *Potozi*, in the yeere I have mentioned, being then in *Peru*, and since the wealth that hath come from *Peru* by ship, hath amounted to much more. In that fleet where I came, in the yeare one thousand five hundred eighty seven, there were eleven millions transported in the two fleets of *Peru* & *Mexico*, whereof two thirds were in that of *Peru*, and almost the one halfe for the King. I thought good to set this downe particularly, to shew the power which his heavenly Maiestie hath given to the Kings of *Spaine*, heaping so many Crowns and Kingdomes vpon them, who (by the especial favour of heaven) have ioyned the East with the West *Indies*, invironing the whole worlde with their Power. This digression shall serve to shew the riches of *Potozi*, we will now shew how they labour in the mines, and how they refine their mettalls.

How they labour in the mines of Potozi.

CHAP. 8.

Boetius complaining of the first inventer of mines, *Boetius de consolat.*
spake well,

Heus primus quis fuit ille,

Auri qui pondera testi.

Gemmaeque, latere volentes,

Preciosa pericula fodit?

Q3

Alas,

Alas, who was the first,
 So curious and accurst,
 Who digged out of the mine,
 Mans minde to underminde,
 Heavie weights of golde ore,
 Better concealde before:

And pearle crept into ground,
 Pale for feare to be found:
 Galing gold, wringing rings,
 Precious, but perilous things.

Plin. lib. 33. ca. 4 With reason he calleth them precious dangers, for the great labour and perill wherewith they draw out these mettalls, which men so much esteeme. *Plinie* saies, that in *Italie* there are many mines, but the Ancients would not suffer their people to worke in them, onely to preserve the people. They brought these mettalls from *Spaine*, and made the Spaniards labour in the mines as tributaries. The like doth *Spaine* now with the *Indies*, for there remaining many mines of mettall yet in *Spaine*, they will not seeke them, nor suffer any to worke in them, by reason of the inconveniencies which happen daily, but they bring them from the *Indies*, where they digge it with much labour and perill. This rocke of *Potozi*, containes as I have said, foure principall veines, that is, the Rich veine, that of *Cemeno*, that of *Tinne*, and that of *Mendieta*. All these veines are of the East part of the mountaine, as looking to the Sunne rising, for on the West part there is not any. The fore-said veines runne from North to South, which is from Pole to Pole. In the largest place they have six foote, and in the narrowest a spanne bredth. There are others of divers fashions that runne out of the said veines, like as out of the great armes of trees, there commonly sprout

sprowt fourth lesse. Everie veine hath divers mines which are partes and portions of the same, distinct and divided betwixt divers Masters, by whose names they are commonly called. The great mine containes fourescore yardes, neither may it be more by the law, and the least containes foure. All these mines are at this day very deepe. In the rich mine they reckon 78. mines, which are 80. yards deep, or a hundred stades or height of a man, and in some places two hundred. In the veine of *Centeno*, are 24. mines, whereof some are 70. or 80. stades deepe, and so of the other veines of this mountaine. For a remedie to this great profunditie, they have invented mines, which they call *Soccabones*, which are caves or ventes made at the foote of the mountaine, the which go crossing til they incounter with the veines: for wee must vnderstand, that although the veines ranne North to South, as hath been said, yet is it in declining from the toppe to the foote of the mountaine, which may be as they beleev by coniecture, above twelve hundred stades. And by this account, although the mines extend in such a profunditie, yet there remaines six times as much space vnto the bottome or roote, the which they say, are most rich and abundant, as the body and spring of all veines. Although vnto this day we have seene the contrary by experience, for the higher the veine is to the superficies of the earth, the more rich they finde it: and the deeper it goes, the poorer it is, and of the baser aloy. They then invented the *Soccabons*, by which they enter to worke in the mines very easily, with lesse charge, paine, and danger. They have eight foote in breadth, and a stade in height, the which they shut with doores. By them they drawe forth their mettall very easily,

Q4 paying

paying to the proprietary of the *Soccabon*, the fift part of all the mettall they draw forth. There are nine already made, and others are begunne. They were twenty and nine yeeres in making of one *Soccabon*, as they call it, of the venome that flowes from the rich veine. It was begunne in the yeere 1550. the eleventh yeere of the discoverie, and was ended in the yeere 1583. the eleventh of August. This *Soccabon* crossed the rich veine thirtie five stades from the roote or spring, and from thence where it met to the mouth of the mine, were a hundred thirty five stades. So as they must descend all this depth to labour in the mine. This *Soccabon* contains from his mouth vnto the veine of *Crusero* as they call it, 250. yardes, in which worke were spent twentie nine yeeres, whereby wee may see what great paines men take to draw silver out of the bowells of the earth. They labour in these mines in continuall darkenes and obscuritie, without knowledge of day or night. And forasmuch as those places are never visited with the Sunne, there is not onely continuall darkenes, but also an extreame colde, with so grosse an aire contrary to the disposition of man, so as, such as newly enter, are sicke, as they at sea. The which happened to me in one of these mines, where I felt a paine at the heart, and beating of the stomacke. Those that labour therein, vse candles to light them, dividing their worke in such sort, as they that worke in the day, rest by the night, and so they change. The mettall is commonly hard, and therefore they breake it with hammers, splitting and hewing it by force, as if they were flintes. After they carry vp this mettall vpon their shoulders, by ladders of three branches, made of neates lether twisted like peeces of wood, which are crossed with staves of wood;

wood, so as by every one of these ladders they mount and disceend together. They are ten stades long a peece: and at the end of one, beginnes another of the same length, every ladder beginning and ending at plat-formes of wood, where there are seates to rest them, like vnto galleries, for that there are many of these ladders to mount by one at the end of another. A man carries ordinarily the weight of two *Arrobes* of mettall vpon his shoulders, tied together in a cloth in manner of a skippe, and so mount they three and three. He that goes before carries a candle tied to his thumbe: for (as it is said,) they have no light from heaven, and so go they vp the ladder holding it with both their handes, to mount so great a height; which commonly is above a hundred & fiftie stades: a fearefull thing, and which breeds an amazement to thinke vpon it, so great is the desire of siluer, that for the gaine thereof, men indure any paines. And truly it is not without reason, that *Plinie* treating of this subiect, exclaimes and saies thus, *We enter even into the bowells of the earth, and go hunting after riches, even to the place of the damned.* And after in the same booke he saith: Those that seeke for mettalls; performe workes more then Giants, making holes and caves in the depth of the earth, piercing mountaines so deepe by the light of candles, whereas the day and the night are alike, and in many moneths they see no day. So as, often the walles of their mines fall, smothering many of them that labour therein. And afterwards he addes, *They pierce the hard rocke with hammers of yron, waying 150 poundes, and draw out the mettall vpon their shoulders, labouring day and night, one delivering his charge to another, and all in darkenes, onely the lust sees the light: with wedges and hammers they breake the*

Every *Arroba*
is 25 pound.

Plin. in proem.
lib. 33. cap. 6.

the stinies, how hard and strong soever, for the hunger of gold is yet more sharpe and strong. This Plinie saies, who although he speakes as a historiographer of that age, yet doth he seeme to propheticie of this time. Neither is it lesse which Phacion of Agatharchides reports of the great travell they indure, whom they called *Chrysiot*, in drawing out of golde: for as the said Author saith, gold and silver are as painefull to digge and drawe forth, as they are pleasing to possesse.

How they refine the Mettall of Silver. CHAP. 29.

THE Veines as I have said, where they finde silver, runnes betwixt two rockes, which they call the Chafe, whereof the one is commonly as hard as flint, and the other soft and easie to breake. This mettall is not alwaies equal, and of the same bountie, for you shall finde in one and the same veine, one sort of mettall very rich, which they call *Cacilla*, or *Tacana*, from which they draw much silver; and another is poore, from whence they draw little. The most rich mettall of this mountaine, is of the colour of Amber, and the next is that which inclines to blacke. There is other somewhat red, and other of the colour of ashes: finally of divers and sundrie coloures, which seeme to such as know them not, to be stones of no value. But the miners do presently know his qualitie and perfection, by certaine signes and small veines they finde in them. They carry all this mettall they drawe out of these mines, vpon Indian sheepe; which serve them as Asses to carry it to the milles, the richest mettall is refined by melting in those small furnaces, which they call *Guayra*, for that is most leadie; by reason whereof, it is most subiect

subiect to melt, & for the better melting therof, th' *Indians* cast in a matter, they call *Soroche*, which is a metall
ful of lead. The metall being in these furnaces, the filth
and earthie drosse, through the force of the fire, re-
maines in the bottome, and the silver and lead melt;
so as the silver swimmes vpon the lead, vntill it be puri-
fied; then after they refine the silver many times, after
this maner of melting. They have vsually drawne out
of one quintall of metall, thirtie, fortie, and fiftie pec-
ces of silver, and yet I have seene some most excellent,
that have bin shewne me, where they have drawne in
the melting two hundred, yea, two hundred and fiftie
peecces of silver of a quintall of metall; a rare wealth,
and almost incredible, if we had not seene the tryall
thereof by fire; but such mettalls are verie rare. The
poorest metall is that which yeeldes two, three, five,
or six peecces, or little more. This metall hath com-
monly little lead, but is drie, and therefore they cannot
refine it with fire. And for this reason in *Potozi*, there
was great store of these poore mettalls, whereof they
made no great account, but were reiected like straw,
and as the skumme of the good metall; vntill they
found meanes to refine it by quicke-silver, whereby
the skumme they called *Oquiache* was of great profit,
for the quicke-silver by a strange and wonderfull pro-
perties, purifies the silver; and is apt for these mettalls
which are drie and poore, wherein they consume lesse
quicke-silver then in the richer: for the richer they are,
the more neede of quicke-silver they have. At this day
the most vsuall maner of refining in *Potozi*, is by quicke-
silver, as also in the mines of *Cacatecas*; and others of
new *Spainne*. There were in old time vpon the sides and
toppes of *Potozi*, above six thousand *Guayras*, which
are

are small furnaces where they melt their mettall, the which were placed like lightes, (a pleasant sight to behold by night,) casting a light a farre off like a flame of fire. But at this day there are not above two thousand, for that (as I have said,) they vse little melting, but refine it by quicke-silver, the which is the greatest profit. And for that the properties of quicke-silver are admirable; and that this maner of refining of silver is remarkable; I will discourse of quicke-silver, of the mines and worke, and what is requisite for that subiect.

Of the wonderfull properties of Quicke-silver.

CHAP. IO.

Quicke-silver, so called by the Latines, for that it runnes and slides suddenly from place to place, amongst all other mettalls hath great and wonderfull vertues. The first is, although it be a true mettall, yet is it not hard, neither hath it any certaine forme nor subsistence like to other mettalls, but is liquide, not like unto gold and silver molten, but of his owne proper nature; and although it be a liquor, yet is it more heauie then any other mettall: and therefore all others swim above and sinke not to the bottome, being more light. I have seene two poundes of yron put into a barrell of quicke-silver, the which did swimme about like vnto

Plin. lib. 33. ca. 6 wood or corke vpon the water. *Plinie* gives an exception heerevnto, saying, that gold alone doth sinke and not swimme above it. I have not seene the experience; but it may be this growes, by reason that quicke-silver by nature doth inuiron gold, and covers it, which is one of the most important properties it hath; for it

ioynes

ioynes with gold in a strange maner, it seekes it where it lies, and inuirones it in such sort, as it doth distinguish and seperate it from any other body or mettall where-with it is mixt: for this reason such take gold as will preserve themselves from the dangers and discommodities of quicke-silver. They have vsed a remedie to those (in whose eares they had put quicke-silver, to cause them to die secretly,) to put little plates of gold into their eares, (for that gold hath the vertue to draw out Mercurie,) and after they drew out these plates all white with the quicke-silver, it did sticke vnto them. Being one day at *Matril*, I went to see the exquisite workes which *Iacomo de Treco*, (a rare worke-man of *Milan*,) made for *S. Laurence the Roiall*, it was my hap to be there one day, whenas they gilded certaine peeces of a countertable of brasse, which is done with quicke-silver; and for that the fume of Mercurie is mortall, he told me that the worke-men preserved themselves from this venome, by swallowing a double duc-kat of gold roled vp; the which being in the stomacke, drawes vnto it all the quicke-silver that enters in fume by the eares, eyes, nostrilles, and mouth, and by this meanes freed themselves from the danger of quicke-silver, which the gold gathered in the stomacke, and after cast out by the excrements: a thing truly worthy of admiration. After the quicke-silver hath purified and purged gold from all other mettalls and mixtures, he is likewise seperated from the golde his friend by the heate of the fire, the which purifies it from all quicke-silver. *Plinie* saies, that by a certaine art and invention they did seperate gold from quicke-silver. It seemes to me the Ancients had no knowledge to refine silver by quicke-silver, which at this day is the greatest vse, and
chiefe

chiefe profite of quickesilver; for that he saies plainly, that quickesilver ioynes with no other mettall but with gold; and when he makes mention of refining of silver, he speakes onely but of the manner of melting; whereby wee may inferre that the Ancients had no knowledge of this secret. In truth, though there be a league and simparchie betwixt golde and quicke-silver, yet whereas the mercurie findes no gold, it ioynes with silver, though not in the like maner as with gold; but in the end, it doth clense and purge it from earth, copper, & lead, amongst the which the silver growes, without any neede of fire to melt it: yet must they vse fire to separate it from the silver, as I will shew hereafter. Quicksilver holds no account of other metialls, but of golde and silver; but contrariwise it doth corrupt them, force and consume them, and flieth from them as much as may be. The which is likewise admirable, and for this cause they put it in earthen vessells, or in beasts skinnes. For if it be put in vessells of copper, of yron, or other mettall, it presently pierceth and corrupts them. And therefore *Plinie* calleth it the poyson of all things, for that it consumes and spoyles all. We finde quick-silver in the graves of dead men, which after it hath consumed the bodies, comes forth pure and whole. There hath beene likewise found in the bones and marrow of men and beasts, who having received it in fume by the mouth and nostrills, congeales within them and pierceth even vnto the bones. Therefore it is a dangerous thing to frequent so perillous and mortall a creature. It hath an other propertie, which is, to runne and make a hundred thousand small droppes, whereof not one is lost, be they never so little, but they returne every way to their liquor. It is almost incorruptible, having nothing

thing in a maner that may consume it. And therefore *Plinie* calles it the eternall sweate. It hath yet another propertie, that although it dooth separate gold from copper, and all other mettalles, yet they that will guild copper, brasse, or silver, vse quicke-silver as the meanes of this vnion; for with the helpe thereof they guild mettalls. Amongest all the woonders of this strange liquor that seemes to me most woorthy obseruation, that although it be the weightiest thing in the worlde, yet is it converted into the lightest of the worlde, which is smoake, and sodainely the same smoake which is so light a thing, turnes againe into so heavy a substance, as is the proper liquor of quicke-silver, whereinto it is dissolved; for this smoake incountring the metall on high, being a solide bodie, or comming into a colde region, sodainely it thickens and is converted into quicke-silver, and if you set him once againe to the fire, hee dooth likewise returne into smoake, to be resolved againe into quicke-silver. A strange transmutation of so heavy a substance into so light a thing; and of so light into so heavy, the which we may hold for a rare thing in Nature. And therefore the Author of Nature is iustly to be glorified in these and all other strange properties of this metall, seeing that all things created doe properly obey their secret and vnknownelawes.

Of the place where they finde quicke-silver, and how they discovered these rich mines in Guanaca-tilca. CHAP. II.

Quicke-silver is found in a kinde of stone, which dooth likewise yeelde Vermillion, which the Antients

tients called *Minium*, and at this day they call the Images of cristall miniades, which are painted with quicksilver. The Antients made great accompt of this *Minium* or vermillion, holding it for a sacred colour, as *Plinie* reportes, saying, that the *Romans* were accustomed to paint the face of *Iupiter*, and the bodies of those that triumphed in *Ethiopia*: yea their idolles and their Governors likewise had their faces coloured with this *Minium*. And this vermillion was so esteemed at *Rome*, (which they brought onely from *Spaine*, where they had many pittes and mines of quicksilver, which continue there to this day) that the *Romans* suffered it not to be refined in *Spaine*, lest they should steale some of it, but they carried it to *Rome*, sealed vp in a masse as they drew it out of the mine. and after refined it. They did yeerely bring from *Spaine*, especially from *Andalusie*, about tenne thousand pound weight, which the *Romans* valued as an infinite treasure. I have reported all this out of that Author, to the end that those which doe see what passeth at this day in *Pern*, may have the content to know what chanced in former ages, among the mightiest Lords of the world. I speake for the *Inguas* kings of *Pern*, and for the naturall Indians thereof, which have laboured and digged long in these mines of quicksilver, not knowing what quicksilver was, seeking onely for *Cinabrium* or vermillion, which they call *Limpi*, the which they esteeme much, for that same effect that *Plinie* reportes of the *Romans* and *Ethiopians*, that is, to paint the face and bodies of themselves and their idolls: the like hath been much practised by the Indians, especially when they went to the warres, and vse it at this day in their feasts and dauncing, which they call flubbering, supposing that their faces and visages so flubbered,

red, did much terrifie; and at this day they holde it for an ornament and beautifying, for this cause there were strange workes of mines in the mountaines of *Guanacailca*, which are in *Peru*, neere to the cittie of *Guamangus*, out of the which they drew this mettall, it is of such a manner, that if at this day they enter by the *cayes* or *Socobones*, which the Indians made in those dayes, they loose themselves, finding no passage out; but they regarded not quicke-silver, which naturally is in the same substance or mettall of vermillion, neither hadde they knowledge of any such matter.

The Indians were not alone for so long a time without the knowledge of this treasure, but likewise the Spaniards, who vntill the yeare of the incarnation of our Saviour, one thousand five hundred three score and six, and three score and seaven (at such time as the licentiate *Castro* governed in *Peru*) discovered not the mines of quicke-silver, which happened in this manner. A man of iudgement called *Henrique Guarcas*, a Portugall borne, having a peece of this coloured mettall, as I have saide, which the Indians call *Limpi*, with which they paint their faces, as hee beheld it well, found it to be the same which they call Vermillion in *Castille*; and for that hee knew well that vermillion was drawne out of the same mettall that quicke-silver was, hee coniectured these mines to be of quicke-silver, went to the place whence they drew this mettall, to make triall thereof. The which hee found true, and in this sorte the mines of *Palcas* in the territorie of *Guamangua*, being discovered, great numbers of men went thither to drawe out quicke-silver, and so to carry it to *Mexico*, where they refine silver by the meanes of quicke-silver, where with many are enriched. This country of mines which

they call *Guancavilca*, was then peopled with Spaniards and Indians that came thither; and come still to worke in these mines of quicke-silver, which are in great numbers, and very plentifull: but of all these mines, that which they call *d'Amador de Cabrera*, or of Saintes, is goodly and notable. It is a rocke of most hard stone, interlaced all with quicke-silver; and of that greatnesse, that it extendes above foure score *Varres* or yardes in length, and forty in breadth; in which mine they have many pittes and ditches, of three score and tenne stades deepe, so as three hundred men may well worke together; such is the capacity thereof. This mine was discovered by an Indian of *Amador de Cabrera*, called *Namincopa* of the village of *Acoria*, the which *Amador de Cabrera* caused to be registred in his name. He was in surte against the Procurer fiscall, but the vsufruite was adiudged to him by sentence as the discoverer. Since he solde his interest to another, for two hundred and fifty thousand ducates; and afterwards thinking he had bin deceived in the sale, he commenced an action against the buyer, being worth, as they say, above five hundred thousand ducats; yea, some holde it to be worth a million of golde: a rare thing to see a mine of that wealth.

Whenas *Don Francisco* of *Toledo* governed in *Peru*, there was one which had bin in *Mexico*; and observed how they refined silver with mercury, called *Pero Fernandes de Valesco*, who offered to refine silver at *Potozi*, with mercury; and having made triall thereof in the yeare of our redemption, one thousand five hundred seaventy and one, perfourmed it with credite; then beganne they to refine silver at *Potozi* with quicksilver, which they transported from *Guancavelitqua*, which

was a goodly helpe for the mines; for by the meanes of quickesilver they drew an infinite quantity of mettall from these mines, whereof they made no accompt, the which they called scrapings. For as it hath beene said, the quickesilver purifies the silver, although it be drie, poore, and of base alloy, which can not be doone by melting in the fire. The Catholike King drawes from it quickesilver mines, without any charge or hazard, almost foure hundred thousand peeces of a mine, the which are foureteene rials a peece, or little lesse, besides the rights that rise in *Potozi*, where it is employed, the which is a great riches. They doe yearely, one with another, drawe from these mines of *Guancavilca*, eight thousand quintalls of quickesilver, yea and more.

The maner how to drawe out Quicke-silver, and how they refine Silver. CHAP. 12.

LET vs now speake how they draw out Quicke-silver, and how they refine Silver therewith. They take the stone or mettall where they finde the quickesilver, the which they put into the fire in pots of earth well luted, being well beaten, so as this mettall or stone comming to melt by the heate of the fire, the quickesilver seperates it selfe, and goes forth in exhalation, and sometimes even with the smoake of the fire, vntill it incounters some body where it staies and congeales, and if it passe vp higher, without meeting of any hard substance, it mountes vp vntill it be colde; and then congeled, it falles downe againe. When the melting is finished, they vstoppe the pottes and draw forth the mettall, sometimes staying vntill it be very cold, for if

there remained any fume or vapor, which should encounter them that vnstopt the pottes, they were in danger of death, or to be benumbed of their limbes, or at the least, to loose their teeth. And for that they spend an infinite quantitie of wood, in the melting of these mettalls. A Miller called *Rodrigo de Torres*, found out a profitable invention, which was, to gather certaine straw which growes throughout all those mountaines of *Peru*, the which they call *Ycho*, it is like vnto a hard reede wherewith they make their fire. It is a strange thing to see the force which this straw hath to melt and dissolve these mettalls, the which falles out, as *Plinie* saies, that there is gold which melts more easily with the flame of straw, then with hote burning coales. They put the quicke-silver thus molten into skinnes, for that it keepe best in lether, and in this sort they lay it into the Kings store-howse, from whence they carry it by sea to *Ariqua*, and so to *Potozi* by land vpon their sheepe. There is yeerely spent in *Potozi* for the refining of mettalles, about six or seven thousand quintalles of quicke-silver, besides that they drawe from the plates, (which is the earth or drosse of the first washings of these mettalls, which are made in caldrons.) The which plates they burne in their furnaces, to draw out the quicke-silver which remains in them: and there are above fiftie of these furnaces in the Citie of *Potozi*, and in *Tarpaya*. The quantitie of mettalls which they refine, (as some men of experience have made the account,) doth amount yeerely to above three hundred thousand quintalles, from the earth and drosse whereof being molt and refined, they may draw yeerely above two thousand quintalles of quick-silver. We must vnderstand there are diuers sortes of mettalls,

Plin. lib. 33. c. 4

for

for some yeelde much silver; and waste little quicke silver; others consume much quicke-silver, and yeelde little silver; and there are others which consume much quicke-silver, and yeeldes much silver; and others that consume little quicke-silver; and also yeelde little silver; and as men incounter in these mettalles; so they grow rich or poore in their trafficke. Although commonly the rich mettall yeeldes much silver, and consumes much quicke-silver; and likewise that which is poore, yeeldes little silver, and consumes as little mercurie. They first beat and grinde the mettall very small, with hammers and other instruments; which beat this stone like vnto tanne milles, and being well beaten, they scarce it in a copper searce, making the poulder as small and fine, as if it were horse haire: these searces being well fitted, doe sift thirtie quintalles in a day and a night; then they put the poulder of the mettall into the vessels vpon furnaces, whereas they anoint it and mortifie it with brine, putting to everie fiftie quintalles of poulder, five quintalls of salt. And this they do for that the salt seperates the earth and filth, to the end the quicke-silver may the more easily draw the silver vnto it. After they put quicke-silver into a peece of holland and presse it out vpon the mettall; which goes forth like a dewe, alwaies turning and stirring the mettall, to the end it may be well incorporate. Before the invention of these furnaces of fire, they did often mingle their mettall with quicke-silver, in great troughes, letting it settle some daies, and did then mix it, and stirre it againe, vntill they thought all the quicke-silver were well incorporate with the silver, the which continued twentie daies and more, and at the least nine daies. Since they discovered (as the desire to get is diligent,)

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that to shorten the time fire did much helpe: to incorporate silver the sooner with quicke-silver, they invented these furnaces, whereon they set vessels to put in their mettall, with salt and quicke-silver, and vnderneath they put fire by little and little, in furnaces made for the nonce vnderneath, so as in five or six daies the quicke-silver is incorporate with the silver. And when they finde that the mercurie hath done his part, and assembled all the silver, leaving nothing behinde, but is well imbrued as a sponge doth water, dividing it from the earth, lead, and copper, with the which it is engendered. Then after they seporate it likewise from the quicke-silver, the which they do in this sort; they put the mettall in caldrons, and vessells full of water, where with certaine wheelles they turne the mettall round about, as if they should make mustard, and so the earth and drosse goes from the mettall with the water that runs away: The silver & quicke-silver as most ponderous remaining in the botome, the mettall which remains, is like vnto sand: then they take it out and wash it againe in great platters of wood, or keelers full of water, still drawing the earth from it, vntill they leave the silver and quicke-silver well clenfed. There slippes away also some small portion of silver and quicke-silver with the earth and drosse, which they call washings, the which they after wash againe and draw out the remainder. When the silver and quicke-silver are clenfed and beginne to shine, and that there remains no earth, they put all the mettall into a cloth, which they straine out very forcibly, so as all the quicke-silver passeth out, being not incorporate with the silver, and the rest remains as a loafe of silver, like to a marke of almonds pressed to draw oyle. And being thus pressed, the

the remainder contains but the sixt part in silver, and five in mercuric. So as if there remains a marke of threescore pounds, ten are of silver, and fiftie of mercuric. Of these marks they make pinnes, (as they call them,) like pine apples, or sugar loaves, hollow within, the which they commonly make of a hundred pound weight; then to sepearate the silver from the quicke-silver, they put it into a violent fire, which they cover with an earthen vessell, like to the mold of a sugar loafe, or vnto a capuchon or hooode, the which they cover with coales, and set fire vnto it; whereby the quicke-silver exhales in smoake, the which striking against the capuchon of earth, it thickens and distills, like vnto the smoake of a potte covered; and by a pipe like vnto a limbecke, they receive the quicke-silver which distills, the silver remaining without changing the forme, but in weight it is diminished five partes of that it was, and is spongiuous, the which is worthy the observation. Of two of these loaves they make one barre of silver, in weight 65. or 66. markes: and in this sort they carry it to the touch, custome, and marke. Silver drawne with mercuric, is so fine, that it never abates of two thousand three hundred and fourescore of alloy, and it is so excellent, that the worke-men are inforced to alay it, putting some mixture to it, as they do likewise in their mints, whereas their mony is stampd. Silver indures all these martiredomes, (if we may so call it,) to be refined, the which if we consider well, it is a bodie framed where they grinde, sift, kneade, lay the leuen, & bake the silver: besides all this, they wash it and wash it againe, they bake it and bake it againe, induring the pestells, sives, troughes, furnaces, caldrons, presses: and finally, by the water and fire. I speake this, for that see-

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Mat. 3.
Ecclef. 2.
Psal. 11

seeing this art in *Potozi*, I did consider what the Scripture speaks of the iust, *Colabit eos et purgabit quasi argentum*: And that which they speake in another part, *Sic ut argentum purgatum terra, purgatum septuplum*. So as to purifie silver, to refine and cleanse it from the earth and stone where it engenders, they purge and purifie it seven times: for in effect it passeth their handes seven times, yea, oftener, vntill it remaines pure and fine; so is it in the word of God, where the soules must be so purified, that shall inioy the heavenly perfection.

Of their Engines to grinde the mettall, and of their triall of Silver. CHAP. 13.

TO conclude, this subiect of silver and of mettalls, there remaines yet two things to speake of, the one is of their engines and milles, the other of their essay or triall: I have said before, how they grinde their mettall: for the receving of the quicksilver, which is done with diuerse instruments and engines, some with horses like vnto hand-milles, others like water-milles; of which two sortes there are great numbers. But for that the water they doe vse commonly, is but of raine, whereof they have not sufficient but three months in the yeare, December, Ianuary, and February: for this reason they have made Lakes and standing Pooles, which containe in circuite about a thousand and six hundred roddes, and in deapth three stades; there are seauen with their sluices: so as when they have neede of any water, they raise vp a sluice, from whence runnes a little streame of water, the which they stoppe vppon holy-dayes. And when the Lakes and Pooles doe fill, and that the yeare abounds

abounds with raine, their grinding dooth then continue fixe or seaven moneths; so as even for silvers sake men desire a good yeere of raine in *Potozi*, as they doe in other places for bread. There are some other engines in *Tarapaya*, which is a valley three or foure leagues distant from *Potozi*, whereas there runnes a river as in other parts. The difference of these engines is, that some goe with fixe pestels, some with twelve, and others with foureteene. They grinde and beate the mettall in morters, labouring day and night; and from thence they carry it to be sifted, vpon the banks of the brooke of *Potozi*. There are forty eight water-mills, of eight, ten, and twelve pestells, and foure on the other side, which they call *Tanacognugno*; in the Cittie of *Tarapaya*, there are two and twenty engines all vpon the water; besides there are thirty goe with horses in *Potozi*, and many others in diuers partes, so great the desire of man is to get silver, which is tryed by deputies appoynted by the King.

To give the alloy to every peece, they cary the bars of silver vnto the Assay maister, who gives to every one his number, for that they carry many at once, he cuttes a small peece of every one, the which he weighs iustly, and puttes them into a cruset, which is a small vessell made of burnt bones beaten; after hee placeth everie crucible in his order in the furnace, giving them a violent fire, then the mettall melteth, and that which is lead, goes into sinoake, and the copper and tinne dissolves, the silver remayning most fine, of the colour of fire. It is a strange thing, that being thus refined, although it be liquide and molten, yet it never spilles, were the mouth of the crucible turned downewardes; but it remayneth fixed, without the losse of a droppe.

The

The Assay maister knoweth by the colour, and other signes, when it is refined, then dooth he draw the crucibles from the fire, and weighs every peece curiously, observing what every one wants of his weight; for that which is of high alloy, wastes but little, and that which is baser, diminisheth much; & according to the waste, he sees what alloy he beares, according to the which he markes every barre punctually. Their ballaunce and weights are so delicate, and their graines so small, as they cannot take them vppe with the hand, but with a small paire of pincers: and this triall they make by candle light, that no ayre might moove the ballance. For of this little the price of the whole barre dependeth. In trueth it is a very delicate thing, and requires a great dexteritie, which the holy Scripture vseth in many places, to shew how God prooves his chosen: and to note the differences of the merites of soules, whereas God gives the title of an Assay-maister to the Prophet *Ieremie*, that hee may trie and declare the spirituall vertue of men, and of his workes, which is the proper worke of the Spirite of God, being he that weighs the Soules of men. We will rest content with what we have spoken touching silver, mettalls and mines, and will passe to the two other mixtures, the which are plants and beasts.

Psal. 65.

Prover. 17. 27.

Ierem. 6.

Prover. 1.

Of Emeraldes. CHAP. 14.

IT shall not be from the purpose, to speake something of Emeraldes, both for that it is a pretious thing, as golde & silver, as also for that they take their beginning from mines and mettalls, as *Plinie* reportes. The Emerald hath bin in old time in great esteeme, as the same

Author

Historie of the Indies. lib. 4. 249

Author writes, giving it the third place amongst all iewel-
les and pretious stones, that is next to the diamond
and pearle. At this day they doe not so much esteeme
the Emerald, nor the pearle, for the great abundance
is brought of these two sorts from the *Indies*, onely the
diamond holds the principality, the which can not be
taken from it. Next, the rubies come in price and other
stones, which they hold more pretious than the Eme-
rald. Men are so desirous of singularities & rare things,
that what they see to be common, they do not esteeme.
They report of a Spaniard, who being in *Italie* when
the *Indies* were first discovered, shewed an Emerald to
a Lapidary, who asking him the value thereof, after he
had well viewed it, being of an excellent lustre and
forme, he prized it at a hundred ducats: he then shew-
ed him an other greater than it, which he valued at
three hundred ducats. The Spaniard drunke with this
discourse, carried him to his lodging, shewing him a
casket full. The Italian seeing so great a number of E-
meralds, sayde vnto him, Sir, these are well woorth a
crowne a peece: the like hath happened both at the
Indies and in *Spaine*, where the stones have lost their e-
stimation, for the great abundaunce they finde of them
there.

Pliny reportes many excellencies of the Emerald, a-
mongst the which he saith, that there is nothing more
pleasing, nor more healthfull for the sight; wherein he
hath reason, but his authority importeth little, seeing
there is such store. It is reported that *Lelia* a Roman
Dame bestowed vpon a scoffion and a garment em-
broidered with pearle and emerald 400000. ducats, the
which at this day might be doone with lesse than forty
thousand ducats, yea two such. In diuerse partes of the
Indies,

Plin. lib. 37. c. 5

Plin. lib. 9. c. 35

Indies, and the Kings of *Mexico*, didde much esteeme them; some did vse to pierce their nostrills, and hang therein an excellent Emerald : they hung them on the visages of their idolles. The greatest store is found in the New Kingdome of *Grenado*, and *Peru*, neere vnto *Manta* and port *Viel*. There is towards that place a soile which they call, the Land of Emeraldes, for the knowledge they have of aboundance to be there : and yet vnto this day they have not conquered that Land. The Emeralds grow in stones like vnto cristall; I have seene them in the same stone, fashioned like a veine, and they seeme by little and little to thicken and refine. I have seene some that were halfe white, and halfe greene; others all white, and some greene and very perfite. I have seene some of the bignesse of a nut, and there have bin some greater found: but I have not known that in our time they have found any of the form and bignesse of the platt or iewel they have at *Genes*, the which they esteeme (and with reason) to be a iewell of great price, and no relique; yet without comparifon, the Emerald which *Theophrastus* speakes of, which the King of *Babylon* presented to the King of *Egypt*, surpasseth that of *Genes*; it was foure cubites long, and three broade, and they say, that in *Iupiters* Temple, there was a needle or pyramide, made of foure Emeralds stones offorty cubits long, and in some places foure broade, and in others two : and that in his time there was in *Tir* in *Hercules* Temple, a pillar of an Emerald. It may be (as *Plinie* saileth) it was of some greene stone, somewhat like to the Emerald, and they called it a false Emerald. As some will say, that in the Cathedrall Church of *Cordoue* there are certaine pillars of Emeraldes which remaine since it was a Mesquite for the Kings *Mirama-*
molins

molins Moores, which raigned there. In the fleete, the
 yeare one thousand five hundred eighty and seven, in
 the which I came from the *Indies*, they brought two
 chests of *Emeraldes*, every one weighing at the least
 foure *Arobes*, whereby wee may see the aboundance
 they have. The holy Scripture commends these *Eme-*
Exod. 29. 39.
Apor. 21.
 ralds as pretious iewells; they number them amongst
 the pretious stones, which the hie Priest carried on his
 Ephod or breast-plate, as those which did beautifie the
 walles of the heavenly *Ierusalem*.

Of Pearles. CHAP. 15.

NOW that we intreat of the great riches that comes
 from the *Indies*, it were no reason to forgette the
 Pearle, which the Ancients called *Marguerites*; and as
 the first were in so great estimation, as none but royall
 persons were suffered to weare them: but at this day
 there is such aboundance as the *Negres* themselves do
 weare chaines thereof; they growe in shells or oysters;
 in eating whereof I have found pearles in the middest
 of them: These oysters within are of the colour of hea-
 ven, very lively. In some places they make spoones, the
 which they call mother of Pearle. The pearles do differ
 much in forme, in bignes, figure, colour and polishing;
 so likewise in their price they differ much. Some they
 call *Ave Mariacs*, being like the small graines of beades;
 others are *Pater nosters*, being bigger. Seldome shall
 you finde two of one greatnesse, forme, and colour. For
 this reason the Romans (as *Pliny* writeth) called them
Plin. lib. 3. c. 38.
Vnions. Whenas they doe finde two that are alike in all
 poyntes, they raise the price much, especially for eare-
 rings.

rings. I have seene some payres valued at thousands of ducats, although they were not like to *Cleopatras* two pearles, whereof *Pliny* reportes, either of them being woorth a hundred thousand ducats, with the which this foolish *Queene* wonne a wager she hadde made against *Marc Anthony*, to spend in one supper above an hundred thousand ducats; so at the last course shee dissolved one of these pearles in strong vinegar, & dranke it vp. They say the other pearle was cutt in two, and placed in the *Pantheon* at *Rome*, at th'eares of the image of *Venus*. *Esope* reportes of *Clovis* the sonne of a Comediant, who in a banquet presented to every one of his ghests (amongest other meates) a rich pearle dissolved in vinegar, to make his feast the more royall and sumptuous.

These were the follies of those ages, and those at this day are nothing lesse, for that we see, not onely hattes and bandes, but also buskins, and womens pantofles, (yea of base condition) imbrodred all over with pearle. They fish for pearles in diverse partes of the *Indies*, the greatest aboundaunce is in the south Seas, neere vnto *Panama*, where the Ilandes of pearles be, as they call them. But at this day they finde greatest store, and the best, in the north Sea, the which is neare to the river of *Hatch*. I did see them make their fishing, the which is done with great charge & labor of the poore slaves, which dive fixe, nine, yea twelve fadomes into the sea, to seeke for oysters, the which commonly are fastened to the rockes and gravell in the Sea, they pull them vp, and bring them above the water to their canoes, where they open them, drawing forth the treasure they have within them. The water of the Sea in this parte is verie cold, but yet the labor and toile is greatest in holding
of

of their breath, sometimes a quarter, yea halfe an houre together, being vnder the water at their fishing. And to the end these poore slaves may the better continue and holde their breaths, they feede them with drie meates, and that in small quantitie; so as covetousnesse makes them abstaine and fast thus against their willes. They imploy their pearles to diverse workes, and they pierce them to make chaines; whereof there is great store in every place. In the yeere of our Lorde one thousand five hundred eighty one I did see the note of what came from the *Indies* for the King, there were eighteen maces of pearle; besides three caskets, and for particulars, there were twelve hundred threescore and foure marks, and besides them, seaven caskets not pierced, which heeretofore we would have esteemed and helde for a lie.

Of the Indian Bread, and of Mays. CHAP. 16.

IN our discourse of Plants, wee will beginne with those which are proper and peculiar to the *Indies*; and after with the rest that are common to the *Indies* and *Europe*; and forasmuch as plants were chiefly created for the nourishment of man; and that the chiefe (whereof he takes his nourishment,) is bread, it shall be good to shew what bread the Indians vse; and whereon they live for want thereof. They have (as we have heere,) a proper name; whereby they note and signifie bread; which at *Peru*, they call *Tanta*, and in other places by another name. But the qualitie and substance of the bread the Indians vse, differs much from ours: for we finde not they had any kinde of wheat or barley,
nor

nor any other kinde of graine which they vse in *Europe* to make bread withall: insteede whereof they vsed other kindes of graines and rootes; amongst the which Mays holds the first place; and with reason, in *Castile* they call it Indian wheat; and in *Italie* they call it Turkey graine. And even as wheat is the most common graine for the vse of man, in the regions of the old world, which are *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Affrike*: So in the new found worlde, the most common graine is Mays; the which is found almost in all the kingdomes of the West *Indies*; as at *Peru*; new *Spaine*; in the new kingdome of *Granado*, in *Gautimalla*, in *Chille*, and vpon the maine land. I do not finde that in old time, in the Ilands of *Barlovente*, as *Cuba* *S. Dominique*, *Jamaique*, and *S. Iean*, that they vsed Mays: at this day they vse much *Yuca* and *Cacavi*, whereof we will presently in treat. I do not thinke that this *Mays* is any thing inferior to our wheat, in strength nor substance, but it is more hote and grosse; and engenders more bloud; wherevpon they that have not bin accustomed therevnto, if they eat too much, they swell and become scabbed. It growes vpon canes or reedes; every one beares one or two grapes or branches; to the which the graine is fastened, and although the graine be bigge, yet finde they great store thereof; so as in some clusters I have told seven hundred graines. They must plant it with the hand one by one; and not very thicke; it desires a hote and moist ground; and growes in great abundance in many places of the *Indies*. It is not strange in those countries to gather 300. *Fanegues* or measures for one sowed. There is difference of *Mays* as there is of wheat, one is great and very nourishing, another small and drie; which they call *Moroche*; the Greene leaves and

and canes of *Mays*, is a good foode for their mules and horses, and it serves them for straw when it is dried; the graine is of more nourishment for horses then barley, and therefore in those countries, they vse to water their horses before they eate, for if they should drinke after, they would swell as when they eate wheat. *Mays* is the Indians bread, the which they commonly eate boiled in the graine hote, and they call it *Mote*, as the *Chinois* and *Japponois* eate their Rice sodden with the hote water; sometimes they eate it baked. There is some *Mays* round and bigge, as that of *Lucanas*, which the Spaniards eate roasted as a delicate meat, and hath a better taste then *Buarbenses*, or roasted peason. There is another kinde of eating it more pleasant, which is, to grinde the *Mays*, and to make small cakes of the flower, the which they put in the fire, and then bring them hote to the table. In some places they call them *Arepas*. They make also round bowles of this paste, and so trimme them that they continue long, eating it as a dainty dish.

They have invented at the *Indies* (for friandise and pleasure) a certaine kinde of paste, they doe make of this flowe mixt with sugar, which they call biscuits and mellinders. This *Mays* serves the Indians, not only for bread, but also for wine: for they do make their drinke thereof, wherewith they are sooner drunke than with wine of grapes. They make this wine of *Mays* in diverse sortes and maners, calling it in *Pern Acua*, and by the most common name of the *Indies Chicha*. And the strongest is made like vnto beere, steeping the graine vntill it breake. After they boyle it in such sort, that it growes so strong, as a little overthrowes a man. In *Pern* they call this *Sora*, it is defended by the Law, for the

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great inconveniences that grow thereby, making men drunke. But this Lawe is ill observed, for that they vse it still; yea they spend whole dayes and nights in drinking carowse. *Pliny* reporteth, that this maner of beverage of graine stieped, and after sodden; wherewith they were drunke, was in old time vsed in *Spaine, France* and other Provinces; as at this day in *Flanders* they vse ale made of mault. There is another maner of making this *Acua* or *Chicha*, which is to champe the mays, and make a leuen thereof, and then boile it; yea the *Indians* holde opinion; that to make good leuen; it must bee champed by old withered women, which makes a man sick to heare; and yet they doe drinke it. The cleanliest manner, the most wholesome, and that which least harmeth, is to roast the Mays, which the most civil *Indians* doe vse, and some *Spaniards*, yea for physicke: For in effect they finde it a very wholesome drinke for the reines, so as you shall hardly finde any one at the *Indies* complaine of paine in the backe, for that they do drinke of this *Chicha*. The *Spaniards* and *Indians* cate this Mays boyled and roasted for daintinesse, when it is tender in the grape like milke; they putte it into the pot; and make sawces that are good to cate. The buds of Mays are very fatte, and serve insteede of butter and oyle: so as this Mays at the *Indies* serves both for men and beasts, for bread, wine, and oile. For this reason the Viceroy *Don Francisco de Toledo* saide, that *Pern* hadde two things rich, and of great nourishment, which were Mays, and the cattell of the countrey. In truth he had reason, for these two things did serve them as a thousand. I will aske sooner than I can answer it, whence Mays was first carried to the *Indies*, and why they do call this

profita-

profitable graine in *Italie*, *Turkie* grainer for in trueth I doe not finde that the Antients make any mention of this graine, though that mil (that *Plinie* writes to come from the *Indies* into *Italie*, tenne yeares before he didde write it) hath some resemblance vnto Mays; for that it is a graine, as he saies, that growes in reede, and covers it selfe with the leafe, and hath the toppe like haire, being very fertile; all which things agree not with mill. To conclude, God hath imparted to ev'ry region what is needefull. To this continent he hath given wheate, which is the chiefe nourishment of man; and to the *Indians* he hath given Mays, which hath the second place to wheate, for the nourishment of men and beasts.

Of *Yuca*, *Cacavi*, *Papas*, *Chunes*, and *Ris*.
CHAP. 17.

IN some partes of the *Indies* they vse a kinde of bread they call *Cacavi*, which is made of a certaine roote they call *Yuca*: This *Yuca* is a great and grosse roote, which they cutte in small morcells, they grate or scrape it, and then put it in a presse to straine, making a thinne and broade cake thereof, almost like vnto a Moores target or buckler; then doe they drie it; and this is the breade they eate. It hath no taste, but is healthfull and of good nourishment: For this reason we said, being at *S. Dominike*, that it was the proper food: for great eaters, for that they might eate much, without any feare of suffetting. They must of necessitie water this *Cacavi* before they eate it: it is sharpe, and easely watered with water or broath, wherein it is very good, for that it swells much, and so they make *Capirotades*, but it is

hardly stieped in milke, in honny of canes, or in wine, for that these liquors cannot pierce it, as it doth bread made of wheate. Of this *Cacavi* there is one kind more delicate than any other, which is that they make of the flower called *Xauxau*, which they do much esteeme in those partes. For my parte, I esteeme more a morsell of bread, how hard & black soever. It is a strange thing that the iuice or water that commeth from this roote when they straine it, which makes the *Cacavi* is a deadly poison, and killes any that drinks thereof: but the substance that remaineth, is a very wholesome bread and nourishment, as we have saide. There is another kinde of *Tuca*, which they call sweet, and hath not this poyson in the iuyce: this is eaten in the roote boyled or roasted, and is good meate. *Cacavi* will keepe long, and therefore they carry it to sea in steede of biscuit. The place where they vse most of this bread, is at the Ilands of *Barlovente*, which are *S. Dominicke*, *Cuba*, *Port Ricco*, *Iamarique*, and some others thereabouts, for that the soile of these Ilands will neither beare wheate, nor Mays, for whenas they sowe wheate, it comes vp well, and is presently greene, but so vnequally, as they cannot gather it; for of the seede sown, at one instant, some is spindled, some is in the eare, and some doth but bud, one is great and an other little, one is in the grasse and another in the graine, and although they have carried labourers thither, to see if there were any tillage or Art to be vsed, yet could they finde no remedy for the quality of the earth. They carry meale from *New Spaine* or the *Canaries*, which is so moist, that hardly can they make any profitable bread, or of good taste. The wafer cakes wherewith they say Masse, did bend like to wet paper, by reason of the extreame humiditie and

and heate which are ioynly in that countrey. There is an other extreame contrary to this, which hinders the growing of mais or wheate in some parts of the *Indies*, as on the height of the *Sierre of Peru*, and the provinces which they call of *Colao*, which is the greatest parte of this Realme, where the climate is so colde and drie, as it will not suffer any of these seedes to growe: in steede thereof the *Indians* vse an other kinde of roote, which they call *Papas*, these rootes are like to grownd nuttes, they are small rootes, which cast out many leaves. They gather this *Papas*, and dry it well in the Sunne, then beating it they make that which they call *Chuno*, which keepe many daies, and serves for bread. In this realme there is great trafficke of *Chuno*, the which they carry to the mines of *Potoxi*: they likewise eate of these *Papas* boyled or roasted, there is one sweete of these kindes, which growes in hot places, whereof they do make certaine sawces and minced meates, which they call *Locro*. To conclude, these rootes are the bread of that land; so as when the yeare is good, they reioyce much, for that oftentimes they freeze in the earth, so great is the cold of that Region: they carry Mays from the valley or sea coast, and the Spaniardes which are dainty, carrie likewise from the same places wheate meale; whereof they doe make good breade, because that the land is drie.

In other partes of the *Indies*, as at the *Philippines*, they vse Rice in steade of bread, whereof there growes very good, and in great aboundance in all that countrey, and in *China*, and it is of good nourishment, they seethe it in purcelaines, and after mix it hore with the water amongst other meates. In many places they do make their wine and drinke of this Rice, steeping, and

then after boyling it, as they do the beere in *Flaunders*, or the *Acua* in *Peru*. Rice is a meate not much lesse common and generall throughout the world, than wheate or mays, and perchaunce more; for besides that they vse it, in *China*, *Ioppon*, and the *Philippines*, and in the greatest parte of the East *Indies*; it is a graine most common in *Affrike* and *Ethiopia*. It requires a wet ground, almost overflowne like to a meadow. In *Europe*, *Peru*, and *Mexico*, where they have the vse of wheate, they eate Rice as a meate, and not for bread; they seethe it with milke or with broth, or in some other sorte. The most exquisite Rice commeth from the *Philippines* and *China*, as hath beene sayde. And this may suffice to vnderstand what they eate generally at the *Indies* in steade of bread.

Of diuers Rootes which growe at the Indies.

CHAP. 18.

ALthough in these parts the Land be more abundant and fertile in fruites that growes vpon the earth, by reason of the great diuersitie of fruit trees, and plants we have; yet for rootes and other things that grow vnder the earth, the which they vse for meates, in my opinion there is greatest aboundance there: for of these kindes of plants, we have readishes, turneps, parsneps, carrots, liekes, garlike, and some other profitable rootes. But in those countries they have so many diuers sortes, as I cannot reckon them; those which I now remember besides *Papas*, which is the principall, there is *Ocas*, *Tanococas*, *Camotes*, *Vatas*, *Xiquimas*, *Tuca*, *Cochucha*, *Cavi*, *Tatora*, *Mani*, and an infinite number of other kindes, as the *Patattres*, which they

they eate as a delicate and toothsome meate. They have likewise carried fruites to the *Indies* from these parts, the which prosper better there, then the Indian plants do, brought into *Europe*; the reason in my opinion is, for that there is greater variety of temperatures then in these partes, by meanes whereof, the plants in those regions do rise and prosper better, fitting themselves to the temperature they require. And the rootes and plants which grow there, and were not transported from hence, are better then they be heere; for onions, garlike and parsnips, are not in *Spaine*, as they be at *Peru*; and as for turnips, there is so great abundance, as they have increased in some places in such sort, that as they have affirmed to me,) they could not destroy the abundance which grew vp, for to some corne there. Wee have seene redish rootes as bigge as a mans arme, very tender, and of a good taste, and of these rootes I have spoken, some serve for ordinarie meate, as the *Camores*, which being roasted, serve as pulse. There are other rootes that serve them for dainties, as the *Cochucho*; it is a small sweete roote, which some preserve for more delight. There are other rootes fit to coole, as the *Piquima*, which is in qualitie very cold and moist, and in summer it refresheth and quencheth the thirst; but the *Papas* and *Ocas*, be the chiefe for nourishment and substance. The Indians esteeme garlike above all the rootes of *Europe*, and hold it for a fruit of great force: wherein they want no reason, for that it comforts and warmes the stomacke, for that they eate it with an appetite rawe as it comes out of the ground.

Of divers sortes of Greene Hearbes, and Pulses, and of those they call Concombres, Pines, or Pine Apples, small fruites of Chille, and of Prunes. CHAP. 19

Seeing wee have begunne with the lesser Plants, I might in few words, touch that which concernes Flowers and Pot-herbes, and that which the Latines call *Arbusta*, without any mention of trees. There are some kindes of these shrubbes at the *Indies*, which are of very good taste. The first Spaniards named many things at the *Indies* with such Spanish names, as they did most resemble, as *Pines*, *Concombres*, and *Prunes*, although they be very different fruites to those which are so called in *Spaine*. The *Pines*, or *Pine-apples*, are of the same fashion and forme outwardly to those of *Castile*, but within they wholly differ, for that they have neither aples, nor scales, but are all one flesh, which may be eaten when the skinne is off, it is a fruit that hath an excellent smell, and is very pleasant and delightfull in taste, it is full of iuyce, and of a sweete and sharpe taste, they eate it being cut in morcells, and steeped a while in water and salt. Some say that this breedes choler, and that the vse thereof is not very healthfull. But I have not seene any experience thereof, that might breede beleefe. They grow one by one like a cane or stalke, which riseth amongst many leaves, like to the lillie, but somewhat bigger. The apple is on the toppes of every cane, it growes in hote and moist groundes; and the best are those of the Ilands of *Barlovente*. It growes not in *Pern*, but they carry them from the *Andes*, the which are neither good nor ripe. One presented one of these *Pine-apples*, to the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, which

which must have cost much paine, and care to bring it so farre, with the plant from the *Indies*, yet would he not trie the taste. I have scene in new *Spaine*, conserves of these Pines, which was very good. Those which they call *Concombres*, are no trees, but shrubbes, continuing but one yeere. They gave it this name, for that some of this fruite, and the most part, is in length, and roundnes like to the *Concombres* of *Spaine*: but for the rest they differ much, for they are not Greene, but violet, yellow, or white, neither are they thornie or rough, but polished and even, having a very different taste, and farre better then that of *Spaine*, for they have a sharpe sweete taste, very pleasant when it is ripe, yet is it not so sharpe as the Pine. They are very coole, full of liquor and of easie digestion, and in time of heate, fit to refresh. They take away the rinde which is white, and all that remaines is meat. They grow in a temperate soile, and require watering. And although for the resemblance they call them *Concombres*, yet are there many of them round, and others of a different fashion: so as they have not the figure of *Concombres*. I do not remember to have scene this kinde of fruite in new *Spaine*, nor at the Islands, but vpon the *Lanos* of *Peru*. That which they call the little fruite of *Chille*, is of the same sort, very pleasant to eate, & comes neere the taste of cherries, but in all other things it differs much: for that it is no tree, but an hearbe, which growes little and spreades vpon the earth, casting forth this little fruite, the which in colour and graines, resembles almost the mulbery, when it is white and not ripe, yet is it more rough and bigger then the mulbery. They say this little fruite is naturally found in the fieldes of *Chille*, where I have scene of them. They set it vpon plants
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and branches, and it growes like any other shrubbe. Those which they call Prunes, are verily the fruites of trees, and have more resemblance then the rest to our plumbs. There are divers sorts, whereof they call some Prunes of *Nicaragua*, the which are very red and small, and have little meat vpon the stone, but that little is of an exquisite taste, and of a sharpenes, as good, or rather better then cherries. They hold this fruit to be very holefome, and therefore they give it to sicke folkes, especially to provoke an appetite. There are others that be great and of a darke colour, they have much meat, but it is grosse and of no taste, like to the *Ghavacanas*, which have every one two or three small stones. But to returne to pot-herbs, I finde not that the Indians had any gardins of divers hearbs and plants, but did onely till the land in some partes for pulses, which they vse, as those which they call *Frisolles* and *Palares*, which serve them as our lentils, beanes, or tares: neither have I knowie that these pulses, or any other kinds that be in *Europe*, were there before the Spaniards entered, who carried plants and pulses from *Spaine* thither, where they now grow and increase wonderfully, and in some places exceede greatly the fertilitie of these partes. As if we speake of mellons which grow in the vallie of *Yuca*, in *Peru*, whose roote becomes a stalke that continues many yeeres carrying mellons yeerely, and they trimme it like vnto a tree, a thing which I do not know to be in any part of *Spaine*. But that is more monstrous of the Calibasses or Indian Pompions, and the greatnes they have as they grow, especially those which are proper to the Countrie, which they call *Capallos*; the which they eateniost commonly in Lent; boiled and trimmed with some other sawce. There are

a thousand kindes of *Calibasses*, some are so deformed in their bignes, that of the rinde cut in the middest and clenfed, they make as it were baskets to put in all their meat for their dinner. Of the lesser they make vessells to eate and drinke in, and do trimme them handsomely for many vses. I have spoken this of small plants, wee will now speake of greater; but first of their *Axi*, which is of the lesser.

Of Axi or Indian Pepper. CHAP. 20.

THEY have not found at the West *Indies* any kinde of Spices, proper or peculiar to them, as pepper, cloves, cinamon, nutmegges or ginger, although one of our company, who had travelled much, and in diuerse partes, tolde vs, that in the desarts of the Iland of *Iamaique* he had found trees where pepper grewe. But they are not yet assured thereof, neither is there anie trade of these spices at the *Indies*. The ginger was carried from the *Indies* to *Hispaniola*, and it hath multiplied so, as at this day they know not what to do with the great aboundaunce they have. In the flecte the yeare 1587. they brought 22053. quintalls of ginger to *Seville*: but the naturall spice that God hath given to the weast *Indies*, is that we in *Castill*, Indian pepper, and at the *Indies*, *Axi*, as a generall worde taken from the first land of the Ilands, which they conquered. In the language of *Cusco*, it is called *Vchu*, and in that of *Mexico*, *Chili*. This plant is well knowne, and therefore I will speake alittle, onely wee must vnderstand, that in olde time it was much esteemed amongst the Indians: that they carried into places where it grew not, as amarchandise

dise of consequence. It growes not vpon cold grounds, as on the *Sierre of Peru*, but in hote vallis, where it is often watered. There is of this *Axi* of diuerse colours, some is Greene, some red, some yellow, and some of a burning color, which they call *Caribe*, the which is extremely sharpe and biting; there is an other sort not so sharpe, but is so sweete, as they may eate it alone as any other fruit. There is some of it very finall and pleasing in the mouth, almost like to the smell of muske, and is very good. That which is sharpe and biting in this *Axi*, be the veines and the graine onely; the rest is not: for that they eate it Greene and dry, whole and beaten, in the pot, and in sawces, being the chiefe sawce, and all the spice they have at the *Indies*. When this *Axi* is taken moderately, it helps and comforts the stomacke for digestion: but if they take too much, it hath bad effects, for of it selfe it is very hote, fuming, and pierceth greatly, so as the vse thereof is preiudiciall to the health of yong folkes, chiefly to the soule, for that it prouokes to lust. It is strange, that although the fire and heate of it be well knowne by experience, and that every man saies, it burnes in the mouth and the stomacke; yet some, yea many holde, that the Indian pepper is not hote, but colde, and well tempered. But I might say to them, the like should be of pepper; though they brought me as many experiences as they woulde of the one and the other: yet is it a very mockery to say it is not hote, seeing it is in the highest degree. They vse salt to temper this *Axi*, having great force to correct it, and so they moderate one with the other by the contrarie that is in them. They vse also *Tomates*, which are colde and very wholesome. It is a kinde of graine great and full of iuyce, the which gives a good taste to sawce,

sawce, and they are good to eate. They have generally throughout the *Indies* of this Indian pepper; at the Islands, new *Spain*, *Peru*, and all the rest that is discovered. And as mays is the generall graine for bread, so *Amixi* is the most common spice for sawces.

of the Planetree.

CHAP. 21.

COMming to the greater plants or trees at the *Indies*, the first that shall be needefull to treat of, is the Plane or *Platano*, as the vulgar call it. I have been sometimes in doubt, whether the Plane which the Antients have so much celebrated, and that of the *Indies* were of one kinde. This well observed, and that which they write of the other, without all doubt they will appeare to be of sundry kinds. The reason why the Spaniards called it *Plane*, (for the Indians had no such name) was as in other trees, for that they have found some resemblance of the one with the other, even as they called some fruites, prunes, pines, and cucumbers, being far different from those which are called by those names in *Castille*: The thing wherein was most resemblance, in my opinion, betwixt the Planes at the *Indies*, and those which the Antients did celebrate, is the greatnes of the leaves, for that these have them very great and coole, and the Antients did likewise much esteeme them for the greatnesse and coolenesse of their leaves. It is also a plant that requireth much water, and in a maner continually, which agrees with the sacred Scripture that saith; *Like to the Plane neere the waters*. But in truth there is no more comparison nor resemblance of the one with the other, then there is (as the Proverb saith) betwixt an egge and a chesnut. For first, the antient plane carries

carries no fruit, at the least, they made no account thereof, but the chiefest reason why they esteemed it, was, for the shadow, for that there was no more Sunne vnder a Plane than vnder a rooffe. And contrariwise, the reason why they shoulde regarde it at the *Indies*, yea make great accompt thereof, is by reason of this fruite, which is very good; for they have little shade. Moreover, the antient Plane had the body so bigge, and the boughs so spread, that *Pliny* reporteth of one *Licinius* a Rômane Captaine, who with eightene of his companions dined at ease in th' hollow of one of these planes: and of the Emperour *Caius Caligula*, who with eleven of his ghests feasted vpon the toppe of an other Plane, where he made them a sumptuous banquet. The Indian Planes have neither so great nor hollow bodies, nor so broade boughs. He saith moreover, that the antient Planes grew in *Italie* and in *Spaine*, although they had beene brought thither from *Greece*; and first from *Asia*, but the Indians Planes growe neither in *Italy* nor in *Spaine*. I say they growe not there, for although we have seene some at *Seville* in the Kings gardins, yet they prosper not, nor are of any account. Finally, whatsoeuer they find alike betwixt the one and the other, is very different. For although the leaves of the auntient Planes were very great, yet were they not such, nor so great as those at the *Indies*, seeing that *Pliny* compares it to the leafe of a Vine or Figge tree.

Plin. lib. 11. c. 16

The leaves of the Indian Plane, are of a wonderfull bignes, and are, in a maner, sufficient to cover a man from the foote to the head, so as no man can doubt but there is great difference betwixt the one and the other. But put the case that this Indian Plane be different from the ancient, yet deserves it no lesse commendation,

dation, it may be, more, by reason of the profitable qualities it hath. It is a plant that makes a stocke within the earth, out of the which springs many and sundrie siens and sprigges, divided, and not ioyned together. These sprigges grow bigge, every one making a small tree apart, and in growing they cast forth these leaves, which are of a fine Greene smooth, and great as I have said. When it is growne to the height of a fide and a halfe, or two, it puttes forth one only bough of fruite, whereon sometimes there are great numbers of this fruite, and sometimes lesse. I have tolde vpon some of these boughs three hundred, whereof every one was a spanne long more or lesse, and two or three fingers bigge; yet is there much difference heerein, betwixt some and others, they take away the rinde, and all the rest is a firme kernell and tender, good to eate, and nourishing. This fruite inclines more to cold then heate. They are accustomed to gather the boughs or clusters, as I have said, being Greene, and put them into vessells, where they ripen, being well covered, especially when there is a certaine hearbe mingled with it, which serves for this effect. If they suffer them to ripen on the tree, they have a better taste, and a very good sinell, like to *Carmosines* or sweet apples. They last almost all the yeere, for that there are alwaies yong ones that grow out of this stocke, so as when one endes, another begins to yeelde his fruite, the one is halfe ripe and the other begins to bud anew, so as one succedes, another and the fruite continues the whole yeere. In gathering the cluster, they cut the sprigge or stalke, for that it beares but one, and never but once: but as I have saide, the stalker remains, and castes forth new siens or stalkes, vntill it growes olde and dies. This Plaine continues
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many yeares, and requires much moisture, and a very hote ground. They putashes at the foote of it, for the better entertaining therof, and they make small groves, and very thicke, which are of great profit and revenue vnto them; for that it is the fruite they vse most at the *Indies*, and is generall in all places, although they say the first beginning comes from *Ethiopia*. And in trueth the Negros vse them much, and in some places they serve them as bread, yea they make wine of them. They cate this fruite rawe like other fruits; they likewise roast it, and make many sorts of potages, and conserves, and in all things it serveth very well. There is a kinde of small Planes, white and very delicate, which in *Hispaniola* they call *Dominiques*. There are others which are stronger and bigger, and red of colour. There growes none in the kingdome of *Peru*, but are brought from the *Indies*, as from *Mexico*, *Cuernavaca*, and other valies. Vpon the firme land, and in some Ilands there are great store of Planes, like vnto thicke groves. If this plant were fit for the fire, it were the most profitable of all others, but it is nothing fit, for neither the body nor the boughs will burne, and much lesse will it serve for building, being a sappy wood, and without force. Yet *Don Alonze Darzilla* (as it is said) vsed the leaves of this tree dried, to write a parte of the *Auricana*, and in truth it may serve for want of paper, seeing that the leafe is as broad as a sheet of paper, or little lesse, and foure times as long.

Of Cacao and Coca. CHAP. 22.

Although the Plane be the most profitable, yet that *Cacao* is most esteemed at *Mexico*, and the *Coca* in *Peru*,

Peru; in which two rees they have great superstition. The *Cacao* is a fruit little lesse than almonds, yet more fatte, the which being roasted hath no ill taste. It is so much esteemed amongst the Indians (yea and among the Spaniards) that it is one of the richest and the greatest traffickes of new *Spaine*: for being a drie fruite, and that keepest long without corruption, they carry whole shippes loaden from the province of *Guatimala*. The last yeare an English Pirat did burne in the Port of *Guatimalco* in new *Spaine*, above a hundred thousand charges of *Cacao*. They vse it in steede of money, for with five *Cacaos* they buy one thing, with thirtie an other, and with a hundred an other, without any contradiction; and they vse to give it to the poore that beg for almes. The chiefe vse of this *Cacao*, is in a drinke which they call *Chocholaté*, whereof they make great accompt in that Country, foolishly, and without reason; for it is loathsome to such as are not acquainted with it, having a skumme or froth that is very vnpleasant to taste, if they be not very well conceited thereof. Yet it is a drinke very much esteemed among the Indians, where with they feast noble men as they passe through their Country. The Spaniards both men and women, that are accustomed to the Countrey, are very greedy of this *Chocholaté*. They say they make diverse sortes of it, some hote, some colde, and some temperate, and put therein much of that *Chili*; yea they make paste thereof, the which they say is good for the stomacke, and against the Catarre. Whatsoever it be, such as have not been nourished there, are not very curious thereof. The tree whereon this fruite growes, is of reasonable bignesse, and well fashioned, it is so tender, that to keepe it from the burning of the Sunne, they plant neere yn-

to it, a great tree, which serves onely to shadow it, and they call it the mother of *Cacao*. There are places where they are like to the Vines and Olive trees of *Spaine*. The province where there is greatest abundance for the traffike of Marchandise, is *Guatimalia*. There grows none in *Peru*, but *Coca*, wherein they hold an other great superstition, which seemes to be fabulous. In trueth the trafficke of *Coca* in *Potozi* doth yearly mount to above halfe a million of peeces, for that they vse foure score and tenne, or foure score and fiftene thousand baskets every year. In the year, one thousand five hundred eighty three, they spent a hundred thousand. A basket of *Coca* in *Cusco* is woorth two peeces and a halfe, and three; and in *Potozi* it is readily worth foure peeces, and five *Tomines*, and five peeces tried. It is a kinde of marchandise, by the which all their Markets and Faires are made with great expedition. This *Coca* whereof they make such account, is a small greene leafe, which groweth vpon small trees about a fadome high, and in hote and moyst grounds; every foure moneths it casts forth this leafe, which they call *Tresmitas* or *Tremoy*; it requires great care in planting, beeing very tender, and much more to keepe it, when it is gathered. They laie it in order in long & narrow baskets, and so lade theyr sheepe of the Country, which go in troopes, with one, two, or three thousand baskets of this marchandise. They bring it commonly from the *Andes* and vallies, where there is an extreame heate, and where it raines continually the most part of the year: wherein the *Indians* endure much labour and paine to entertaine it, & often many die, for that they go from the *Sierre* and colde places to till and gather them in the *Andes*. And therefore there hath beene great question and diversity
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of opinions among learned men, whether it were more expedient to pull vp these trees, or to let them growe, but in the end they remained. The *Indians* esteeme it much, and in the time of their Kings *Inguas* it was not lawfull for any of the common people to vse this *Coca* without licence from the Governor. Their vse is to carry it in their mouthes, chawing it, and sucking out the iuyce, but they swallow it not. They say it gives them great courage, and is very pleasing vnto them. Many grave men holde this as a superstition & a meere imagination: for my part, and to speake the truth, I perswade not my selfe that it is an imagination; but contrariwise, I thinke it works and gives force and courage to the *Indians*: for we see the effects, which cannot be attributed to imagination, as to go some daies without meate, but onely a handfull of *Coca*, and other like effects. The sawce wherewith they doe eat this *Coca*, is proper enough, whereof I have tasted, and it is like the taste of leather. The *Indians* mingle it with the ashes of bones burnt and beat into powder; or with lime, as others affirme, which seemeth to them pleasing and of a good taste; and they say it dooth them much good. They willingly imploy their money therein, and vse it as money: yet all these things were not inconvenient, were not the hazard of the trafficke thereof, wherein so many men are occupied. The Seigniors *Inguas*, vsed *Coca* as a delicate and royall thing, which they offered most in their sacrifices, burning it in honor of their idolls.

Of *Magney*, *Tunal*, *Cochenille*, *Anir*, and *Cotton*.

CHAP. 23.

M*agney* is a tree of wonders, whereof the Notaries or Chapetons (as the *Indians* call them) are wont

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to write miracles, in that it yeeldeth water, wine, oyle, vineger, honny, sirrope, threede, needles, and a thousand other things. It is a tree which the *Indians* esteeme much in new *Spaine*, & have commonly in their dwellings some one of them for the maintenaunce of life; it grows in the fields, and hath great and large leaves; at the end whereof is a strong & sharp point, which serves to fasten little pins, or to sowe as a needle; & they draw out of this leafe as it were a kinde of threed which they vse. They cut the body which is big, when it is tender, wherein is a great hollownesse, by which the substance mounts from the root, and is a liquor which they drink like water, being sweet & fresh. This liquor being sodden, turnes like wine, which growes to vineger, suffering it to lowre, and boyling it more, it becomes as honny, & boyling it halfe, it serves as sirrope: which is healthfull enough, and of good taste, in my iudgement it is better then the sirrope of raisins. Thus doe they boyle this liquor, and vse it in diuerse sortes, whereof they drawe a good quantitie, for that in some season they draw daily some pots of this liquor. There are also of these trees in *Peru*, but they are not so profitable as in new *Spaine*. The wood of this tree is hollow and soft, and serves to keepe fire, like to the match of a harquebuz, and preserves it long; I have seene the *Indians* vse it to that end.

The *Tuall* is another famous tree in new *Spaine*: if we may call a tree a heape of leaves gathered together one vpon another, it is the strangest fashioned tree of all other, for first there grows one leafe out of the ground, then another vpon it, and so one vpon one, till it cometh to his perfection; but as the leaves growe vp, and on the sides, those vnderneath doe become great, and loose in a manner the forme of leaves, making a bodie

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and braunches, which are sharpe, pricking and deformed, so as in some places they doe call it a Thistle. There are thistles or wilde *Tunalls*, the which do carry no fruite, or else it is very pricking without any profit. There are likewise planted *Tunalls* which yeelde fruite much esteemed amongst the Indians, the which they call *Tunas*, and they are much greater then Plumbes, and long. They open the shell which is fatte, and within it is meate and small graines, like to those of figges, which be very sweete; they have a good taste, especially the white, which have a pleasing smell, but the red are not vsually so good. There is another sorte of *Tunalls*, which they esteeme much more, although it yeeldes no fruit, yet it beares an other commoditie and profit, which is of the graine, for that certayne small wormes breede in the leaves of this tree, when it is well husbanded, and are therevnto fastned, covered with a certaine small fine web, which doth compasse them in daintily; and this is that Indian *Cochennille*, so famous, and where with they die in graine. They let it drie, and being dried, carry it into *Spaine*, which is a great and rich marchandise. The robe of this *Cochennille* or graine is worth many ducats. In the fleete, the year 1587. they did bring five thousand sixe hundred seventy seven robes, which amounted to two hundred foure score three thousand seven hundred and fifty peeces, & commonly there comes every year as great a wealth.

These *Tunalls* grow in temperate grounds inclining to colde. In *Peru* there growes none to this day, I have seene some plants in *Spaine*; but they deserve not estimation. I will speake something likewise of the *Anir*, although it comes not from a tree, but from an hearb, for that it serveth for the dying of cloth, and is a marchandise

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chandise which agrees with the graine; it groweth in great abundance in new *Spaine*, from whence there came in the fleete I mentioned 5263. arobes, or thereabouts, which amounted to so many peeces. Cotten likewise growes vpon small shrubs; and great trees like to little apples, which doe open and yeelde forth this webbe; which being gathered, they spinne to make stufes. It is one of the things at the *Indies* of greatest profite, and most in vse; for it serves them both instead of flaxe and wooll to make their garments. It groweth in a hote soyle, and there is great store in the vallies, and sea coast of *Peru*, in new *Spaine*, the *Philippines* and *China*. But the greatest store of any place that I know, is in the province of *Tucuman*, in that of saint *Croix* of the *Sierre*, and at *Paraguay*, whereas Cotten is their chiefe revenue. They carry cotten into *Spaine* from the Island of *Saint Dominike*: and the yeare that I spake of, there came 64000. arobes. At the *Indies* whereas this cotten growes, they make cloth, which both the men and women vse commonly, making table napkins thereof, yea and sailes for their shippes. There is some course, and other that is fine and delicate; they die it into diuerse colours, as wee doe by our woollen cloth in *Europe*.

Of Mameys, Guayavos, and Palos CHAP. 24.

THese Plants we have spoken of, are the most profitable of the *Indies*, and the most necessary for the life of man: yet there are many other that are good to eate, among the which the *Mameys* are esteemed, being in fashion like to great peaches, and bigger, they have one or two stones within them, and their meate
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is somewhat hard. There are some sweete, and others somewhat sower, and have the rinde hard. They make conserves of the meate of this fruite, which is like to marmelade. The vse of this fruite is reasonable good, but the conserves they make thereof, are better. They grow in Ilands. I have not seene any in *Peru*. It is a great tree, well fashioned, and a reasonable faire leafe. The *Guayavos* be other trees which commonly carry an ill fruite, full of sower kernells, and are like to little apples. It is a tree little esteemed vpon the firme land and at the Ilands, for they say it smells like to the *Punaisses*. The taste and savour of this fruite is very grosse, and the substance vnholesome. In *S. Dominique* and other Ilands, there are whole mountaines full of these *Guayavos*, and they say, there was no such kinde of trees before the Spaniards came there, but that they broght them they know not from whence. This tree hath multiplied infinitely, for that there is no beast that will eate the kernells or the graine, so as being thus scattered on the earth, being hote and moist, it multiplies in this sort. In *Peru*, the *Guayavos* differs from others, for that the fruite is not red, but white, neither hath it any ill smell, but is of a very good taste, and of what sort of *Guayavos* soever it bee, the fruit is as good as the best of *Spaine*, especially of those which they call *Guayavos de Matos*, and of other little white *Guayvilles*. It is a fruit reasonably holesome, and agrees with the stomacke, being of a strong digestion, and cold. The *Paltas* commonly are hote and delicate. The *Palto* is a great tree, and carries a faire leafe, which hath a fruite like to great pears: within it hath a great stone, and all the rest is soft meate, so as when they are full ripe, they are as it were butter, and have a delicate taste. In *Peru* the *Paltas*

are great, and have a very hard skale, which may be taken off whole. This fruite is most vsuall in *Mexico*, having a thinne skinne, which may be pilled like an apple: they hold it for a very holesome meate, and as I have said, it declines a little from heat. These *Mamayas Guayavos*, and *Paltos*, be the Indians peaches, apples, and pearces, and yet would I rather choose them of *Europe*. But some others by vse, or it may be by affection, doe more esteeme those of the *Indies*. I doubt not but such as have not seene nor tasted of these fruites, will take small pleasure to reade this discourse, yea, they will grow wearie to heare it, as I have done in writing it, which makes me to abridge it, speaking of some other sortes of fruites, for it were impossible to intreate of them all.

Of Chicocapote, Amonas, and Capollis.

CHAP. 25.

SOME desirous to augment thinges at the *Indies*, have given out that there is no kinde of fruite like vnto *Cotignac*, or marmelade, and another which tastes like a meate made of almonds and creame, which they call *Blanckemanger*, for that the taste of them deserves these names; the marmalad is that which they call *Capotes*; or *Chicocapotes*, which have a sweete taste, and neere vnto the colour of marmalade. Some *Crollos*, (for so they call the Spaniards borne at the *Indies*;) say that this fruite passeth all the fruites of *Spaine* in excellency: yet am I not of that opinion, at the least they say, it passeth all other fruites in taste; but I will not dwell vpon this question, for that it doth not deserve it. Those *Chicocapotes* or *Capotes*, wherein there is little difference,

grow

grow in the hottest partes of new *Spaine*, neither have I knowledge of any such fruite in the firme land of *Peru*. As for the *Blanckemanger*, it is that *Annona* or *Guanavana*, which growes in the firme land, which is fashioned like vnto a peare, a little sharpe and opened, within it is white, tender and soft like butter, sweete and of a pleasing taste: It is no whit meate, though they call it *Blanckemanger*, but in truth they have added much vnto it, by giving this name: although it be delicate and of a sawcie and delicious taste, and according to the iudgement of some, it is held for the best fruite of the *Indies*, yet hath it many blacke kernells within it, and the best which I have seene is in new *Spaine*, where the *Capolies* grow, which be like vnto cherries, with a stone, but some what bigger: the forme and shape is like vnto cherries, of a good taste, being sweete and sharpe, but I have not seene any *Capolies* in any other Countrie.

Of many sortes of fruit Trees, of *Cocos*, *Almôndes*, of the *Andes*, and *Almonds* of *Chachapoyas*.

CHAP. 26.

IT were not possible to reckon all the fruites and trees at the *Indies*, for that I remember not many, and there are many more whereof I have no knowledge, and in my opinion, it were troublesome to speake of all those I now remember. There are some grosse fruites, as those which they call *Lucumes*, (of which fruite they speake in a proverbe, that it is a counterfet price,) The *Guanos*, *Pacayes*, *Hubos*, and the nuttes which they call imprisoned; which fruites seeme to many, to be the same kinde of nuttes we have in *Spaine*, yea

yea, they say, if they were often transplanted from place to place, they would carry nutes altogether like to those of *Spaine*. And the reason why the fruite is so vnpleasant, is, for that they are wilde. To conclide, we ought well to consider the providence and riches of the Creator, who impartes to so divers partes of the world, such varietie of fruite trees, all for the service of man that inhabites the earth. And it is an admirable thing to see so many different formes, tastes, and effects vnknowne, whereof we did never heare speake, before the discoverie of the *Indies*. And whereof *Plinie* himselfe, *Dioscorides* and *Theophrastes*, (yea, the most curious,) had no knowledge, notwithstanding all their search and dilligence. There have beene some curious men of our age, which have written some Treatises of the Indian plants, of hearbes, and rivers, and of their operations for phisicke, to whom they may sie for their better instruction. I onely pretend, (and in few words,) to treate superficially of that which comes to memory touching this subiect; yet do I not thinke it good to passe away vnder silence the *Cocos* or Indian palmes, by reason of a very notable propertie it hath. I call them palmes, not properly, or that it beares dates, but that they are trees like to other palmes. They are high and strong, and the higher they grow, the broader they stretch out their branches. These *Cocos* yield a fruit which they likewise call *Cocos*, wherof they commonly make vessells to drinke in, and some they say have a vertue against poison, and to cure the paine in the side. The nutte and meate being dried, is good to eate, and comes neere in taste to greene chesnuttes. When the *Coco* is tender vpon the tree, the substance within it, is as it were milke, which they drinke for daintines,

daintines, and to refresh them in time of heate. I have seene of these trees in *S. Iean de Port Ricco*, and other parts of the *Indies*, and they report a wonderfull thing, that every moneth or Moone, this tree castes forth a new branch of this *Cocos*; so as it yeeldes fruite twelve times in the yeere, as it is written in the *Apocalips*: and in truth this seemes like vnto it, for that all the branches are of different ages, some beginning, others being ripe, and some halfe ripe. These *Cocos*, are commonly of the forme and bignes of a small melon. There is of another kinde which they call *Coquillos*, the which is a better fruite, whereof there be some in *Chille*. They are some what lesse then nuttes, but more round. There is another kinde of *Cocos*, which have not the kernell so oylie, but within they have a great number of small fruites like almonds, like vnto the graines of a Pougarnet.

These almonds are thrice as bigge as those of *Castille*, and resemble them in taste, though they be more sharpe, and likewise moist and oylie. It is a good meate; they vse it also in feasting; for lack of almons to make marchepanes, and such other things. They call them Almonds of the Andes, for that these *Cocos* growe abundantly vpon the Andes of *Peru*; they are so strong and hard, as to open them, they must beate them with a great stone, when they fall from the tree. If they chance to hit anie one on the head, he hath no more need of any surgeon. It is an incredible thing, that within the hollowe of these *Cocos*, which are no bigger than the rest, or little more, there are such a multitude of these almonds. But as touching almonds and other fruites, all trees must yeelde to the almonds of *Chachapoyas*, which I cannot otherwise call. It is the most pleasing, delicate, and whole-

whole some fruit of all that I have seene at the *Indies*, yea a learned Physitian did affirme, that amongst all the fruits at the *Indies*, or in *Spaine*, none came neere these Almonds in excellencie. There are both greater and lesse than those of the *Andes*, but all are fatter than those of *Castille*. They are very tender to eate, and they have much iuyce and substance; and are oylie and very pleasant: they grow vpon high trees, bearing great leaves. And as it is a pretious thing, so nature hath given them a good covering and defence, being in a huske somewhat bigger, and more pricking than a chesnut. Yet when this huske is drie, they easily drawe foorth the graine. They say, that the Apes who are very greedie of this fruit, and whereof there is abundance in *Chapoyas* of *Peru* (which is the onely countrey (to my knowledge) where these trees doe growe) fearing they should pricke them, and yet desirous to draw forth the almond, they cast them from the toppe of the tree against the stones, and having broken the huske, they open them to eate the fruite at their pleasure.

*Of many and diuerse flowers, and of some trees which
yeeld onely a flower, and how the Indians
do vse them* CHAP. 27.

THE Indians are great lovers of flowers, and in new *Spaine* more than in any other part of the worlde, & therefore they are accustomed to make many kindes of nosegayes, which there they call *Suchillos*, with such pretie varietie and art, as nothing can be more pleasing. They have a custome amongst them, that the chiefeſt man offer their *Suchillos* or nosegayes in honour to Noblemen, and to their gheſts; and they presented vs with
such

such abundance as we passed through that Country, as we knew not what to doe with them; and at this day they vse the principall flowers of *Castill*, to that end, for that they growe better there than heere, as gilliflowers, roses, jasmins, violets, orange flowers, and other sortes which they have transported out of *Spaine*. The rose tree groweth too fast in some places, so as they beare no roses. It chaunced one day that a rose tree was burned, and the siens which sprowted out, presently bare abundance of roses, and thereby they learnd to prune them, and to cut off the superfluous branches, so as at this day they yeeld reasonable store of roses. But besides these kindes of flowers, which have beene transported from hence. There are many others, whose names I do not know, whereof some are red, blew, yellow, violet and white, with a thousand different colours, which the *Indians* did vse to carry on their heads, as feathers for ornament. True it is, that many of these flowers are onely pleasing to the sight, having no good savour, eyther they are grosse, or else they have none at all; and yet there be some of an excellent scent. As those which growe vpon a tree termed by them *Floripondio* or carry flower, which beares no fruit, but onely these flowers, which are greater than the Lillie, and are like to little bells, all white, which have within them small threeds, as we see in the lillie: it leaves not all the yeare to beare these flowers, whose smell is woonderfull sweete and agreeable, especially in the coole of the morning. The Viceroy *Don Francisco de Toledo* sent of these trees vnto King *Philip*, as a thing woorthy to be planted in royall gardins. In new *Spaine* the *Indians* esteeme much of a flower, which they call *Folofuchil*, which signifieth flower of the heart, for that it beares the forme of a heart, and

and is not much lesse. There is likewise an other great tree, which beares this kinde of flower, without any fruite; it hath a strong savour, and in my opinion, too violent, the which may seeme to some more pleasing. It is a thing well knowne, that the flower which they call of the Sunne, hath the figure of the Sunne, and turnes according to the motion thereof. There are other kindes which they call gilliflowers of the *Indies*, the which are like to a fine orange tawnie vellet, or a violet; those have no scent of any account, but onely are faire to the eye. There are other flowers which besides the beautie of the eye, although they have no smell, yet have they a savour like vnto cresses, the which if you shoulde ~~eate~~ with outlooking of them, you would iudge them to be no other. The flower of *Granadille* is held for an admirable thing, and they say, it hath in it the markes of the passion, and that therein they note the nailes, the pillar, the whips, and crowne of thornes, and the woundes, wherein they are not altogether without reason, and yet to finde out and observe these things, it requires some pietie to cause beleefe: but it is very exquisite and faire to the eye, although it have no smell. The fruite which they also call *Granadille* is eaten and drunke; or to speake more properly, sucked, for a refreshing; this fruite is sweete, and too sweete after some opinions. The Indians have vsed in their feasts and dances, to carry flowers in their handes, and the Kings and Noblemen carry them for their greatnes. For this reason we commonly see their ancient pictures with flowers in their hands, as we see heere with gloves. I thinke this sufficient touching flowers. They vse *Bazilie* to this effect, although it bee no flower, but an hearbe onely, which they were wont

to plant carefully in their gardins, but now they regard it not; so as it growes onely about their pooles and ponds,

of Balme. CHAP. 28.

THe Sovereaign Creator hath not onely fashioned Plants to serve as meat, but also for recreation, for phisicke, and for the cure of man. I have spoken somewhat of those that serve for nourishment, which is the chiefe, and a little of those that serve for recreation, and now we are to intreate of those which are proper for phisicke, wherein I will speake something. And although all plants are medicinall when they are well knowne and applied, yet there are some things especially, which wee see directly ordained by the Creator for phisicke; and for the health of man: as liquors, oiles, gummes, and rozines, which come from divers plants and hearbes, and which easily shew by experience whereto they are proper. Above all, Baulme is with reason esteemed for the excellent smell, but much more for the exquisite effect it hath to cure woundes, and divers other remedies, as experience hath taught in the cure of diseases. The Balme which comes from the West *Indies*, is not of the same kind of right Balme which they bring from *Alexandria* or *Caire*, and in old time was in *Indea*; which *Indea* (as *Plinie* writeth) did of all the world possesse this greatnesse, vntill the Emper^{Plin. lib. 12. c. 25} *Vespasian* broght it to *Rome* & into *Italie*. The reason why I say the liquor of the one and the other are not of one kinde, is for that the trees from whence it comes are very different: for the balme tree of *Palestine* is small, and fashioned like to a Vine (as *Plinie* reporteth) who

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Capit. 1.

*Strab. lib. 16.
Geograph.*

who had seene it, and those that at this day that have seene them in the East, say as much. As also the holy Scripture calles the place where the Balme thickens, Vine of *Enguaddy*, for the resemblance it hath to vine. At the *Indies* I have seene the tree from whence they draw the Balme, which is as bigge as a pounge tree, and some thing neere the fashion; and if my memory failes me not, it hath nothing common with the vine, although that *Strabo* writes, that the ancient tree of Balme, was of the bignes of a pounge tree. But in their accidents and operations, their liquors are alike, as likewise they be in their admirable smells, and in the cure and healing of wounds, in colour and substance, seeing they report of other Balmes that there is some white, vermilion, greene, and blacke, the which is likewise seene in that of the *Indies*. And as they drew forth the ancient in cutting and making incisions in the barke, to cause the liquor to distill out, so do they with that at the *Indies*, although it distilles in greater abundance. And as in the ancient there is one kinde which is pure, the which they call *Opobalsamum*, which be the very teares that distill, so as there is another sort which is not so exquisite, the which they drawe from the barke and leaves strained and boiled on the fire, the which they call *Xilobalsamum*. The like is also in the Indian Balmes; there is one pure that distilles from the tree, and others that the Indians draw out by straining and boiling the leaves and wood; yea, they do sophisticate and augment it with other liquors, to make it increase. It is not without reason they call it Balme, for in truth it is so, (although it be not of the same kinde of the ancient,) yet it is much esteemed, and should be more, if the great abundance were not the

the cause as in *Emeraldes* and *Pearles*. That which importes most, is the use wherein it is imployed, for creame and vnctions in the Church, and in such veneration: for that the Apostolike sea hath given libertie to give creame of Balme at the *Indies*, and that they should use it in confirmation and other ceremonies which they use. They bring Balme to *Spaine* from new *Spaine*, from the Province of *Guatimalla*, from *Chiappa*, and other places where it aboundes most, although the most esteemed be that which comes from the Iland of *Tollu*, which is vpon the maine land, not farre from *Carthagene*. This Balme is white, and commonly they holde the white to bee more perfect then the red, although *Plinie* gives the first place to the vermillion, the second to the white, the third to greene, and the last to blacke; but it seemes that *Strabo* esteemed more the white Balmes as ours doe. *Monardes* discourseth at large of the Indian Balme in the first and second part, especially of that of *Carthagene* and *Tollu*, which is all one. I have not found that the Indians in olde time did much esteeme Balme, nor yet imploy it in any important use, although *Monardes* saith, that the Indians cured their woundes therewith, and from thence the Spaniards learned it.

Of Amber, and other Oyles, Gums, and Drugges, which they bring from the Indies CHAP. 29.

NExt to Balme, Amber holdes the second place: it is another liquor which is likewise sweete and medicinall; but more thicke, and turnes into a paste of a hote complexion, and a good perfume, the which they apply to woundes, bruises, and other necessities;

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wherein I will referre my selfe to the Phisitians, especially to Doctor *Monardes*, who in his first Part, hath written of this liquor, and many others that are phisicall, which comes from the *Indies*. This Amber comes from new *Spaine*, which hath that advantage above other Provinces in goomes, liquors, and iuyce of trees, whereby they have such abundance of matter, for perfume and phisicke, as is the *Animé*, whereof there comes great store, *Copall*, or *Suchicopal*, which is another kinde, storax and encense, which have excellent operations, and have a very good smell fit for fumigations. Likewise the *Tacamahaca* and *Caramma*, which are also very medicinall. They bring likewise from this Province oyle of Aspicke, which the Phisitians and Painters vse much, the one for plasters, the other to vernish their pictures. They bring also for the Phisitians, *Cassia fistule*, the which growes plentifully in *S. Dominique*. It is a great tree, which carries these canes as his fruite. They brought in the fleete wherein I came from *S. Dominique* fortie eight quintalles of *Cassia fistule*. *Salcepareille* is not lesse knowne, for a thousand remedies wherein it is vsed. There came in the same fleete fiftie quintalles from the same Iland. There is much of this *Salcepareille* at *Peru*, and most excellent in the Province of *Guayaquill*, which is vnder the Line. Many go to be cured into this Province, and it is the opinion of some, that the pure water onely which they drinke, gives them health, for that it passeth by rootes as I have said, from whence it drawes this vertue, so as there needes no great covering or garments to make a man sweate in that countrie. The wood of *Guayac*, which they call *Lignum sanctum*, or Indian wood growes abundantly in the same Ilands, and is as heaue as yron, so

as it presently sinkes in the water, heereof they brought in the same fleete 350. quintalls, and they might have brought twentie, yea, a hundred thousand of this wood, if there were vse for it. There came in the same fleete, and from the same Iland, 130. quintalles of *Bressill* wood, the which is fierie red, so well knowne, and much vsed in dying and other things. There are at the *Indies* infinite numbers of other aromaticall woodes, gummes, oyles, and drugges, so as it is not possible to name them all, neither doth it now much import. I say onely, that in the time of the Kings *Inguas* of *Casco*, and the *Mexicaine* Kings, there were many great personages expert in curing of diseases with simples, and did goodly cures, having the knowledge of the many vertues and properties of hearbes, rootes, woodes, and plants, which grow there, and whereof the Ancients of *Europe* have had no knowledge. There are a thousand of these simples fit to purge, as the rootes of *Mechoaçan*, the *Pignons* of *Punua*, the conserve of *Guanacquo*, the oyle of Fig-trees, and many other things, the which being well applied; and in time, they hold to be of no lesse efficacie then the drugges that come from the East. The which may be seene in reading the discourse which *Monardes* hath made in the first and second Part, where he treates amply of *Tobacco*, or *Petum*, whereof they have made notable experiences against poison. *Tobacco* is a small tree or plant, common enough, the which hath in it rare vertues, as amongst others it serves for a counterpoison, like to many and divers other plants: for the Creator of all things hath imparted his vertues at his pleasure, not willing that any thing should grow idle. But it is another soveraigne gift to man, to know them and their proper vses, the

which the same Creator gives to whome hee pleaseth. Doctor *Francis Hernandes* hath made a goodly worke vpon this subiect, of *Indian* plants, liquors, and other phisicall things, by the Kings expresse commission and commaundement, causing all the plants at the *Indies* to be lively painted, which they say are above a thousand two hundred; and that the worke cost above three score thousand ducats: out of which worke the Doctor *Nardus Anthonius* an Italian Physitian hath made a curious extract, sending him to the foresaid bookes, that desires more exactly to knowe the plants at the *Indies*, especially for physicke.

Of great forrests at the Indies, of Cedars, of Ceivras, and other great trees. CHAP. 30.

ALthough from the beginning the earth did bring forth plants and trees by the commandement of the Lord, yet hath it yielded more in one place than in another: and besides the plants and trees, which by the industry of man have beene transplanted and carried from place to place, there are many which Nature it selfe hath brought forth. I do beleeve, that of this sort there are more at the new world, which we do call the *Indies*, either in number or diversitie, than in the olde, as *Europe*, *Asia*, or *Affrike*. The reason is, for that the climate at the *Indies* is generally hot and moist, as we have declared in the second Booke, against the opinion of the Auntients, which causeth the earth naturally for to bring forth an infinit number of wilde plants, whereby the greatest part of the *Indies* is inhabitable, being almost impossible to travell by reason of the woodes and thicke forrests that are there, which they labour daillie

to cut downe. It hath bin needefull (passing through some partes of the *Indies*, especially where they newly entred) to make their way, in cutting downe trees, and pulling vp bushes, so that (as some religious men have written that have tried it) they coule not sometimes have passed above a league in a day. One of our brothers (a man worthy of credite) reported vnto vs, that being straied in the mountaines, not knowing which way he shoulde passe, he fell among such thicke bushes, that he was forced to go vpon them, without setting foote to the ground, by the space of fifteene whole dayes: and to see the Sunne, or to marke some way in this thicke Forrest full of wood, he was forced to climbe to the top of the highest trees to discover. He that shall reade the discourse of his travell, how often hee was lost, and the wayes he passed, with the strange adventures that happened vnto him, the which I have written briefly, being so worthy the knowledge, and having my selfe travelled alittle over the mountaines at the *Indies*, were it but the eightene leagues betwixt *Nombre de Dios* and *Panama*, may well iudge what great Forrests there are. So as having no winter in those parts, to nip them with colde, and the humiditie of the heavens, and earth being so great, as the mountaines bring forth infinit Forrests, and the plaines which they call *Savanas*, great plenty of grasse: there is no want of pasture for feeding, of timber building, nor of wood for fewell. It is impossible to set downe the differences and formes of so many wilde trees, for that the names of the greatest parte are vnknowne.

Cedars in olde time so much esteemed, are there very common, both for buildings and shippes, and they are of diverse sortes, some white, and some redde, very

odoriferant. There are great store of Bay trees, very pleasant to beholde vpon the *Andes* of *Peru*, vppon the mountaines, in the Ilands of *Nicaragua*, and in *New Spaine*. There are also infinite numbers of *Palmes* and *Ceivas*, whereof the *Indians* make their *Canoes*, which are boates made of one peece. They bring into *Spaine* from the *Havana*, excellent timber. In the Iland of *Cuba*, there are infinite numbers of like trees, as *Ebene*, *Carovana*, *Grenadille*, *Cedars*, and other kindes which I do not know. There are great pine trees in *New Spaine*, though they be not so strong as those in *Spaine*: they beare no pignous or kernells, but empty apples. The oaks as they cal them of *Guaiacul*, is an excelent wood and sweet, when they cut it; yea there are kanes or most high reedes, of whose boughs or small reedes they doe make bottles and pitchers to carry water, and do likewise vse them in their buildings. There is likewise the wood of *Mansle*, or *Firre*, whereof they make masts for their shippes, and they holde them as strong as yron. *Molle* is a tree of many vertues, which casteth forth small boughes, whereof the *Indians* make wine. In *Mexico* they call it the tree of *Peru*, for that it came from thence: but it growes also in *New Spaine*, and better than those in *Peru*. There are a thousand other trees, which were a superfluous labour to intreate of, whereof some are of an exceeding greatnesse, I will speake onely of one which is in *Tlaco Chavoya*, three leagues from *Guayaca* in *New Spaine*: this tree being measured within, being hollow, was found to have nine fadome, and without, neare to the roote, sixteene, and somewhat higher, twelve. This tree was strooke with lightning from the toppe to the bottome, through the heart, the which caused this hollownesse; they say that before the thun-

thunder fell vpon it, it was able to shadow a thousand men, and therefore they did assemble there for their daunces and superstitions: yet to this day there doth remaine some boughes and verdure, but not much. They know not what kinde of tree it is, but they say it is a kind of Cedar. Such as shall finde this strange, let them reade what *Plinie* reporteth of the Plane of *Lidia*, Plin. lib. 12. c. 8 the hollow whereof contained foure score foote and one, and seemed rather a Cabbin or a house, than the hollow of a tree, his boughs like a whole wood, the shaddow whereof covered a great part of the field. By that which is writen of this tree, we have no great cause to wonder at the Weaver, who hadde his dwelling and loome in the hollow of a chefnut tree; and of another chefnut tree, if it were not the very same, into the hollow whereof there entered eightene men on horsebacke, and passed out without disturbing one another. The Indians did commonly vse their idolatries in these trees, so strange and deformed, even as did the antient Gentiles, as some Writers of our time doe report.

*Of Plants and fruits which have bin carried out
of Spaine to the Indies.*

CHAP. 31.

THe *Indians* have received more profit, and have bin better recompensed in plants that have bin brought from *Spaine*, than in any other marchandise, for that those few which are carried from the *Indies* into *Spaine*, growe little there, and multiply not; and contrariwise the great number that have beene caried from *Spaine* to the *Indies*, prosper wel & multiplie greatly: I know not whether I shall attribute it to the bounty of the plants

that goe from hence, or to the goodnesse of the soile that is there. Finally, there is at the *Indies* any good thing that *Spaine* brings forth; in some places it is better, in some worse, as wheate, bailey, hearbes, and all kinde of pulses, also lettuce, colewortes, radishes, onions, garlike, parsley, turneps, parsneps, *Becogenes*, or apples of love, siccorie, beetes, spinage, pease, beanes, vetches; and finally, whatsoever groweth heere of anie profite, so as all that have voyaged thither, have beene curious to carry seedes of all sorts, and all have growen, although diversly, some more, some lesse. As for those trees that have most abundantly fructified, be orange trees, limons, citrons, and others of that sort. In some partes there are at this day, as it were whole woods and Forrests of orange trees: the which seeming strange vnto mee, I asked who had planted the fields with so many orange trees: they made mee answer, that it did come by chaunce, for that oranges being fallen to the ground, and rotten, their seeds did spring, and of those which the water had carried away into diverse partes, these woods grew so thicke: which seemed to me a very good reason. I have saide that this fruite hath generally increased most at the *Indies*, for that I have not bene in any place but I finde orange trees, for that all their soyle is hote and moist, which this tree most desires. There growes not any vpon the *Sierre* or mountaine, but they carry them from the vallies or sea coast. The conserve of oranges which they do make at the Islands, is the best I have seene anie where; peaches, preses and apricokes have greatly multiplied, especially in *New Spaine*. At *Peru* there growes few of these kinde of fruites, except peaches, and much lesse in the Islands. There growes apples and peares, yet but scarcely: there
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are but few plumbs, but aboumdance of figges, chiefly in *Peru*. They finde quinces in all the country of the *Indies*, and in New *Spaine*, in such aboumdance, as they gave vs fifty choice ones for halfe a riall. There is great store of pomegranets; but they are all sweete, for the sharp are not there esteemed. There are very good melons in some partes of *Peru*. Cherries both wilde and tame have not prospered well at the *Indies*, the which I do not impute to want of temperature, for that there is of all sorts, but to carelesnesse; or that they have not well observed the temperature. To conclude, I do not finde that in those partes there wants any dainty fruite. As for grosse fruites, they have no *Beillottes* nor chestnutes, neither doe I finde that any have growne there to this day. Almonds growe there, but rarely. They carry from *Spaine*, for such as are dainty mouthed, both almonds, nuttes, and filberds; but I have not knowne they had any medlers or servises, which importes little. In my iudgement, this may suffice to shew that there wanteth no delightfull fruites. Now let vs speake somewhat of plants that profit, and which have been carried from *Spaine*, and so will ende that Treatise, beeing too troublesome.

Of grapes, vignes, olives, mulberries, and canes of sugar.

CHAP. 32.

I Meane by profitable plants, those, which besides that which they eate in the house, bring silver to their maisters; the chiefe of these is the vigne, whereof cometh wine vineger, grapes, greene and dry, veriuyc, and sirrope. But the wine is the best. There growes no wine, nor grapes in the Ilandes, nor firme land, but in
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new *Spaine*, there are some vignes which beare grapes, and yet make no wine. The cause is, for that the grape ripens not well, by reason of the raine that falles in the months of Iuly and August, which hinders their ripening, so as they serve onely to eate. They carry wine out of *Spaine*, and from the *Canaries*, to all partes of the *Indies*, except *Peru* and the realme of *Chillé*, where there are vignes that yeelde excellent wine, which increase daily both in quantity, for that it is a great riches in that country, and in beauty, for that they are become with time and practise more expert vignerous. The vignes of *Peru* are commonly in hote vallies, where there are waters, which they water with the hand, because there falles no raine at all from heaven; and vpon the *Lanos* and *Sierra* it comes not in time. There are some places where the vignes are not watered, neither from heaven nor earth, and yet they increase in great aboundance, as in the valley of *Yca*, and in the ditches that they call *Villacuzi*, in which places they finde ditches, or the earth suncke downe amongest the dead sands, which are thoroughout the yeare of a woonderfull coolenesse, and yet it raines not there at any time, neither is there any manner of meanes to water it artificially; the reason is, because the soile is spongiouse, and suckes vp the water of the rivers that fall from the mountaine, which moisten these sands, or else it is the moistnesse of the sea, as others suppose, which passing over this sand, is the cause why it is not barren nor vnprofitable, as the Philosopher teaches. The vignes have so increased there, as for this cause onely the tithes of the Churches are multiplied five or sixe times double within these twentie yeares. The most fertile vallies for vignes be *Victor* neare to *Arequipa*, *Yca* in the territory of *Lima*, and *Caraguanó* in

Historie of the Indies. lib. 4. 297

in the Countrey of *Chuquiarwo*; they carry this wine to *Potozi*, *Cusco* and divers partes; which yeeldes a great revenue: for notwithstanding all the aboundance they have, a bottle or a robe is there woorth five or sixe ducats, and if it be Spanish wine (as they commonly carry in their fleetes) it is woorth tenne or twelve. They make wine like to that of *Spaine*, in the realme of *Chille*, being in the same climate, but it corrupteth being carried to *Peru*: they eate the grape where they cannot drink the wine. And it is strange, that in the citty of *Cusco* you shall finde ripe grapes all the yeare long: the reason is (as they say) for that those vallis bring foorth fruits in diverse moneths of the yeare, either for that they cutte their vignes in diverse seasons, or that this varietie proceeds from the quality of the soyle, but whatsoever it be, it is most certaine, there are some vallies which carry fruit all the yeare. If any one wonder at this, it may be he will wonder much more at that which I shall say, and perchance not beleieve it. There are trees in *Peru*, whereof the one part yeeldes fruit one fixe moneths of the yeare, and the other halfe part yeeldes fruit the other fixe moneths. In *Malla* which is thirteene leagues from the Cittie of *Kings*, there is a figge tree, whereof the one halfe which is towarde the South, is greene, and yeeldeth his fruit one season of the yeare, that is, when it is summer vpon the *Sierre*, and the other moiety towards the *Lanos* or sea coast, is greene, and yeeldes his fruit in the other contrary season, when it is summer vpon the *Lanos*, which groweth from the diverse temperature, and the ayre which commeth from the one part, and the other. The revenue of wine there is not small, but it goeth not out of the country. But the filke that is made in new *Spaine* is transported into other coun-

countries, as to *Peru*. There were no Mulberrie trees in the *Indies*, but such as were brought from *Spaine*, and they grow well, especially in the province which they call *Mistecqua*, where there are silke-wormes, and they put to worke the silke they gather, whereof they make very good tassataes: Yet to this day they have made neyther damaske, sattin, nor velvet. The sugar yet is a greater revenue, for they not only spend it at the *Indies*, but also they carry much into *Spaine*, for the canes grow exceeding well in many parts of the *Indies*. They have built their engines in the Ilands, in *Mexico*, in *Peru*, and in other partes, which yeeldeth them a very great revenue.

It was tolde me, that the engine for sugar in *Nasca*, was worth yeerely above thirty thousand pcees of revenue. That of *Chicama* ioyning to *Truxillo*, was likewise of great revenue, and those of new *Spaine* are of no lesse; and it is a strange thing to see what store they consume at the *Indies*. They brought from the Iland of *S. Dominique*, in the fleete wherein I came eight hundred ninety eight chests of sugar, which being (as I did see) shipped at *Port Ricco* (every chest (in my opinion) weighed eight arobes, every arobes weighing five and twenty pounds, which are two hundred weight of sugar) is the chiefe revenue of these Ilands, so much are men given to the desire of sweete things. There are likewise olives and olive trees at the *Indies*, I say in *Mexico* and in *Peru*, yet hath there not beene to this day any mill for oyle, for that they eate all their olives, and dresse them well: they finde the charge is greater to make oyle than the profit, and therefore they carry all the oyle they do spend from *Spaine*. And heere we will end with plants, and will passe to such beasts as be at the *Indies*.

I finde there are three kindes of beasts at the *Indies*, whereof some have been carried from *Spaine*, others are of the same kinde we have in *Europe*, and yet not carried by the Spaniards; and others are proper to the *Indies*, whereof there are none in *Spaine*. Of the first kinde are sheepe, kine, goates, swine, horses, asses, dogs, cattles and other such beasts, for there are of all these kindes at the *Indies*. The smaller cattell have greatly multiplied, and if they could make profite of their woolls by sending them into *Europe*, it were one of the greatest riches the *Indies* had, for there the flockes of sheepe have great pastures, whereas their feeding failes not. In *Peru* there is such store of pastures and feedings, as no man hath any proper to himselfe, but every man feedes his troupes where he pleaseth. For this reason there is commonly great store of flesh, and very good cheape, and all other things that come from sheepe, as milke, and cheefe. For a time they lost their woollles, vntill that some beganne to husband it, and to make cloth and coverings, which hath beene a great helpe for the poorer sort of the countrie, for that the cloth of *Castille* is very deere there. There are many Clothiers in *Peru*, but more in new *Spaine*, yet the cloth that comes from *Spaine*, is farre better, whether the will be more fine, or the worke men more expert. In former times there were men that did possesse threescore and ten, yea, a hundred thousand sheepe, and at this day they have not many lesse. If this were in *Europe*, it were a very great substance, but in that countrie it is but a meane wealth. In many partes of the *Indies*, and

300 *The Naturall and Morall*

I thinke in the greatest part, small cattell do not increase and profite well, by reason that the grasse is high, and the soile so vicious, that they cannot feede so well as great cattell. And therefore there is an infinite number of kine, whereof there are two kinds. Some are tame and go in troupes, as in the Land of *Charca*, and other Provinces of *Pern*, as also in all new *Spaine*: from these tame kine they draw such profite as they do in *Spaine*, that is, the flesh, butter, calves, and oxen to till the ground. The other kinde is wilde, which live in the mountaines and Forrests, and therefore they tame them not, neither have they any master to whom they are proper, both for the roughnes and thickenes of the Forrest, as also for the great multitude there is, and he that first killes them, is the master, as of any wilde beast. These wilde kine have so multiplied in *S. Dominique*, and thereabouts, that they troupe together in the fields and woods by thousands, having no master to whom they appertaine. They hunt these beasts onely for their hides, they go to the field on horse-backe with their weapons to hough them, coursing the kine: and when they have stricken any and staied them, they are their owne, they flea them and carry the hides home, leaving the flesh, which every one neglects for the aboundance there is, so as some have testified in this Iland, that in some places the aire hath been corrupted with the aboundance of these stinking carcases. The hides they bring into *Spaine*, is one of the best revenues of the Ilands, & of new *Spaine*. In the fleet the yere 1587. there came from *S. Dominique*, 3544. hides, and from new *Spaine*, 64350. which they value at 96532. pcees, so as when they discharge one of these fleets, it is admirable to behold the river of *Seville*, and in the arcnall
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(where they vnlade,) so many hides, and so much marchandize. There are also great numbers of goates, whose cheefe profite is their tallowe, besides their kidmilke and other commodities, for that both rich and poore vse this tallowe for lightes, for as there is a great quantitie; so do they make very good accompt of it; yea, more then of oyle, but all the tallow they vse is onely of the males. They vse their skinnnes for shooes, yet I hold them not so good, as those which are carried from *Castill*. Horses have multiplied there, and are very excellent in many places; yea in many partes there are races found as good as the best in *Spaine*, as well for passing of a carrier, and for pompe, as also for travell: and therefore they vse horses most commonly, although there be no want of moyles, whereof there are many, especially where they make their cariages by land. There is no great numbers of asses, having no great vse for them, neither for travell nor service. There are some few cammells; I have seene some in *Peru*, that were brought from the *Canaries*, and have multiplied there alittle. In *S. Dominique*, dogges have so multiplied in number and bignes, as at this day it is the scourge and affliction of that Iland: for they eate the sheepe, and go in troups through the fields. Such that kill them are rewarded like to them that kill woolves in *Spaine*. At the first there were no dogges at the *Indies* but some beasts like vnto little dogges, the which the Indians call *Alco*, and therefore they call all dogges that go from *Spaine*, by the same name, by reason of the resemblance that is betwixt them. The Indians doe so love these little dogges, that they will spare their meate to feede them, so as when they travell in the countrie, they carrie them with them vpon their shoulders, or in
their

their bosomes, and when they are sicke, they keepe them with them, without any vse, but onely for company.

Of some Beasts of Europe, which the Spaniardes found at the Indies, and how they should passe thither.

CHAP. 34.

IT is certaine that they have carried from *Spaine* all these beasts whereof I have spoken, of which kindes there were none at the *Indies*, when they were first discovered about a hundred yeares since; for besides that it may be wel approved by witnesses at this day living. It is also a sufficient argument to see that the Indians in their tongue, have no proper words to signifie these beasts, but they vse the same Spanish names, although they be corrupted: for being ignorant of the thing, they tooke the word common to those places from whence they came. I have found this a good rule, to discernewhat things the Indians had before the Spaniardes came there, and what they had not: for they gave names to those they had and knew before, and have given new names to these that are newly come vnto them, which commonly are the same Spanish names, although they pronounce them after their manner, as for a horse, wine, and wheate. They found of some sortes of beasts that are in *Europe*, & were not carried thither by the Spaniards. There are Lions, Tigres, Beares, Boares, Foxes, and other fierce & wilde beasts, whereof we have treated in the first booke, so as it was not likely they should passe to the *Indies* by Sea, being impossible to swimme the Ocean: and it were a follie to imagine that men had imbarked them with them.

It

it followes therefore that this worlde ioynes with the new in some part: by which these beaſts might paſſe, *Genſ. 6.* and ſo by little and little multiplied this world. The lions which I have ſcene, are not red, neither have they ſuch haire as they uſually paint them with: They are grey, and not ſo furious as they ſeeme in pictures. The *Indians* aſſemble in troupes to hunt the lion, and make as it were a circle, which they do call *Chaco*, wherewith they inviron them, and after they kil them with ſtones, ſtaves, and other weapons: Theſe lions uſe to climbe trees, where being mounted, the *Indians* kil them with launces and croſſebowes, but more eaſily with harquebuzes. The Tygres are more fierce and cruell, and are more dangerous to meete, becauſe they breake forth and aſſaile men in treaſon: They are spotted, as the Hiſtoriographers deſcribe them. I have heard ſome report that theſe Tygres were very fierce againſt the *Indians*, yet would they not adventure at all vpon the Spaniards, or very little; and that they would chooſe an *Indian* in the middeſt of many Spaniardes, and carry him away.

The Beares which in *Cusco* they call *Otoioncos*, be of the ſame kinde that ours are, and keepe in the ground. There are few ſwarms of Bees, for that their honnie-combes are found in trees, or vnder the ground, and not in hives as in *Caſtille*. The honny-combes which I have ſcene in the Province of *Charcas*, which they call *Chiguanas*, are of a grey colour, having little iuyce, and are more like vnto ſweete ſtrawe, than to hony combs. They ſay the Bees are litle, like vnto flies, and that they ſwarme vnder the earth: The hony is ſharp and black, yet in ſome places there is better, and the combs better faſhioned, as in the province of *Tucuman* in *Chille*,

and in *Carthagene*. I have not scene nor heard speake of wilde boares, but of foxes and other wild beasts that eate their cattell and fowle, there are more than their shepheards would willingly have. Besides these beasts that are furious and hurtfull, there are others that are profitable, and have not beene transported by the Spaniards, as stagges and diere, whereof there is great aboundance in all the forrests. But the greatest parte is a kinde of diere without hornes, at the least, I have never scene nor heard speake of other, and all are without hornes like vnto *Corcos*. It seemes not hard to beleewe, but is almost certain, that all these beasts for their lightnesse, and being uaturally wilde, have passed from one world to an other, by some parts where they ioyne, seeing that in the great Ilands farre from the maine land, I have not heard that there are any, though I have made diligent inquiry.

Of Fowles which are heere, and are at the Indies, and how they could passe thither.

CHAP. 35.

VEe may more easily beleewe the same of birdes, and that there are of the same kindes that wee have, as partridges, turtles, pigeons, stockdoves, quailles, and many sorts of falcons, which they send from New *Spaine*, and *Peru*, to the noblemen of *Spaine*, for they make great accompt of them. There are also Herons and Eagles of diuerse kindes; and there is no doubt but these birds & such like, have sooner passed thither than lions, tygres, and stagges. There are likewise at the *Indies* great numbers of parrots, especially vpon the *Andes* of *Peru*, and in the Ilands of *Port Ricco* and *saint Dominique*,

minique, where they flee by flockes, as pigeons do here. To conclude, birdes with their wings may goe where they will; and truly many kindes might well passe the gulph, seeing it is certaine, as *Plinie* affirmeth, that there are many that passe the sea, and goe into strange regions, although I have not read that any fowle hath passed by flight so great a gulph, as is the *Indian* Ocean, yet hold I it not altogether impossible, seeing the common opinion of mariners, that you shall finde them two hundred leagues and more from the land, And as *Aristotle* dooth teach, that birdes endure the water easily, having little respiration, as wee see in sea fowle, which dive and remain long vnder the water. Even so we may say, that the fowle which bee at this present vpon the maine land, and in the Ilands at the *Indies*, might passe the sea, resting themselves in some small Ilands; or vpon some land which they discovered by a naturall instinct (as *Plinie* reporteth of some) or peradventure falling into the water, when they were weary of flying, and after beganne their flight anew when they had a little rested. As for the fowles which we see in the Ilands, where there are no beasts, I beleeeve certainly that they passed by one of the foresayde meanes. But for other birdes which we finde vpon the maine land, especially those whose flight is shorte: it is more credible that they came thither as the beasts did, which are of the same kindes that wee have in *Europe*. For at the *Indies* there are great birds, very heavy, as *Elstridges*, whereof there are many in *Peru*; which doe vse sometimes to terrifie the *Indian* sheepe as they do goe with their burthens.

Pli. lib. 10. c. 23.

Pli. lib. 10. c. 25

But leaving these birds that govern themselves without the care of man, but onely for hawking, lets now

speake of tame fowle; I wondered at hennies, seeing there were som at the *Indies* before the Spaniards came there, the which is well approoved, for they have a proper name of the country, and they call a henne *Gualpa*, and the egge *Ponto*, and they vse the same proverb wee doe, to call a coward, a henne. Those that were at the discovery of the Ilands of *Soloman*, do report that they have seene hennies there like vnto ours: wee may conceive that the henne being so tame a fowle, and so profitable, men might carry them with them when they passed from one place to another, as we see at this day the *Indians* in their travel carry their henne with them, or chicken vpon the burthen they have on their shoulders: and likewise they carry them easily in their cages of reedes or wood. Finally, there be at the *Indies* many kindes of beasts and birdes, such as we have in *Europe*, as I have specified, and other sortes which I leave to others to discourse of.

How it should be possible, that at the Indies there should be anie sortes of beasts, whereof the like are nowhere else. CHAP. 36.

IV were a matter more difficult, to shew, and prove, what beginning many & sundry sorts of beasts had, which are found at the *Indies*, of whose kindes we have none in this continent. For if the Creator hath made them there, wee may not then alleadge nor flie to *Nahs Arke*, neither was it then necessary to save all sorts of birds and beasts, if others were to be created anew. Moreover, wee could not affirme, that the creation of the world was made and finished in sixe dayes, if there were yet other new kinds to make, and specially perfit beasts,

beasts, and no lesse excellent than those that are known vnto vs : If we say then that all these kinds of creatures were preserved in the Arke by *Noah*, it followes, that those beasts, of whose kinds we finde not any but at the *Indies*, have passed thither from this continent, as we have saide of other beasts that are knowne vnto vs. This supposed, I demand how it is possible that none of their kinde shoulde remaine heere? and how they are found there, being as it were travellers and strangers? Truly it is a question that hath long held me in suspens. I say for example, if the sheep of *Pern*, and those which they call *Pacos* and *Guanacos*, are not found in any other regions of the worlde, who hath carried them thither? or how came they there? seeing there is no shew nor remainder of them in all this worlde? If they have not passed from some other region, how were they formed and brought forth there? It may be GOD hath made a new creation of beasts. That which I speake of these *Pacos* and *Guanacos* may be said of a thousand different kinds of birdes and beasts of the Forrest, which have never beene knowne, neither in shape nor name; and whereof there is no mention made, neither among the Latins, nor Greekes, nor any other nations of the world. We must then say, that though all beasts came out of the Arke, yet by a naturall instinct, and the providence of heaven, diverse kinds disperfed themselves into diverse regions, where they found themselves so well, as they would not parte; or if they departed, they did not preserve themselves, but in proceesse of time, perished wholly, as we do see it chaunce in many things. For if we shall looke precisely into it, we shall finde that it is not proper and peculiar alone to the *Indies*, but generall to many other Nations and Provin-

ces of *Asia*, *Europe*, and *Affrike*, where they say there are certaine kindes of creatures, that are not found in other regions, at the least if they be any where else, they are knowne to be carried from thence. Seeing then these creatures came out of the Arke, as for example, the elephant which we finde only in the East *Indies*, and from thence have beene imparted to other regions, wee may say as much of these creatures of *Peru*, and of others of the *Indies*, which are not found in any other part of the world.

Wee may likewise consider well vpon this subiect, whether these beasts differ in kind, and essentially from all others, or if this difference be accidentall, which might growe by diuerse accidents, as we see in the lineages of men, some are white, others blacke, some giants, others dwarfes: and in apes, some have no taile, others have: and in sheepe, some are bare, others have fleeces; some great and strong with a long necke, as those of *Peru*; others weake and little, having a short necke, as those of *Castille*. But to speake directly, whoso would by this Discourse, shewing only these accidentall differences, preserve the propagation of beasts at the *Indies*, and reduce them to those of *Europ*, he shal vndertake a charge he will hardly discharge with his honor. For if we shall iudge the kindes of beasts by their properties, those of the *Indies* are so diuerse, as it is to call an egge a chesnut, to seeke to reduce them to the knowne kinds of *Europe*.

Of Fowles that are proper to the Indies.

CHAP. 37.

THere are many kindes of notable fowles at the *Indies*, eyther of the same sort that ours be, or of different

ferent. They bring certaine birds from *China*, that have no secte, and all their bodies are almost feathers. They sit not vpon the ground, but hang vpon boughs, by strings or feathers which they have, and so rest themselves, like flies or aerie things. In *Peru* there are birdes which they call *Tomincios*, so small, that often times I have doubted seeing them flie, whether they were bees or butter-flies; but in truth they are birdes. Contrariwise, those which they call *Condores*, be of an exceeding greatnes, and of such a force, that not onely they will open a sheepe and cate it, but also a whole calfe. Those which they call *Auras*, and others *Poullaxes*, (which in my opinion are of the kinde of ravens,) are of a strange lightnes, and have a very quicke sight, being very fit to cleane Citties, for that they leave no carion nor dead thing. They passe the night on trees or vpon rockes, and in the morning they come to the cities and townes, sitting on the toppes of the highest buildings, where they attend their prey. Their yong have white feathers, as they report of ravens, and so change into blacke.

The *Guacamayas* be birdes bigger then Parrets, & resemble them so nothing; they are esteemed for the varietie of their feathers, which be very faire & pleasing. In new *Spain* there are abundance of birdes with excellent feathers, so as there be not any found in *Europe* that comes neere them, as we may see by the images of feathers they bring from thence, the which are (with great reason,) much valued and esteemed, giving cause of admiration, that with the feathers of birdes, they should make so excellent a worke, and so perfectly equall, as they seeme properly to be the true coloures of a painter, and have so lively and pleasing a regard, as

the Painter cannot exceede it with his pencill and colours. Some Indians which are good and expert workemen in this Art, will represent perfectly in feathers, whatsoever they see drawne with the pencill, so as the Painters of *Spaine*, have in this point, no advantage over them. *Don Philip* the Prince of *Spaine*, his schoolemaster, did give vnto him three figures or portraictures made of feathers; as it were to put in a Breviary. His Highnes did shew them to King *Philip* his father, the which his Maiesty beholding attentively, said, that hee had never seene in so small a worke, a thing off so great excellency and perfection. One day as they presented to Pope *Sixtus quintus*, another square bigger then it, wherein was the figure of St. *Francis*, and that they had told him it was made of feathers by the Indians, he desired to make triall thereof, touching the table with his fingers, to see if it were of feathers, for that it seemed strange, to see them so properly fitted, that the eye could not iudge nor discern whether they were naturall colours of feathers, or artificiall, done with the pencill. It is a goodly thing to see the lustre which a greene, an orange tawny like gold, and other fine colours do cast, and beholding them another way they seeme dead colours. They make the best and goodliest figures of feathers in the Province of *Mechovacan*, and in the village of *Pascaro*. The manner is with small delicate pinfors they pul the feathers from the dead fowles, and with a fine paste they cunningly ioyn them together. They take the smal & delicate feathers of those birds, which in *Pern* they call *Tomincoys*, or others like vnto them, which have the most perfect colours in their feathers. The Indians (besides these images,) did vse feathers in many other most excellent

workes,

workes, especially for the ornament of Kings and Noblemen, their Temples and Idolls. There are also other great birdes, which have excellent and fine feathers, whereof they make plumes of sundry colours, especially when they go to warre, enriching them with gold and silver very artificially, which was a matter of great price. They have the same birdes still, but they are not so curious, neither do they make so many gentill devises as they were wont. There are other birdes at the *Indies*, contrarie to these of so rich feathers, the which (besides that they are ill favoured,) serve to no other use but for dung, and yet perchance they are of no lesse profite. I have considered this, wondering at the providence of the Creator, who hath so appointed, that all creatures should serve man. In some Ilands or *Phaeres*, which are ioyning to the coast of *Peru*, wee see the toppes of the mountaines all white, and to sight, you would take it for snow, or for some white land, but they are heapes of dung of sea fowle which go continually thither: and there is so great abundance, as it riseth many elles, yea, many launces in height, which seemes but a fable. They go with boates to these Ilands, onely for the dung, for there is no other profit in them. And this dung is so commodious and profitable, as it makes the earth yeelde great abundance of fruite. They call this dung *Guano*, whereof the valley hath taken the name, which they call *Limaguaná*, in the valleys of *Peru*, where they use this dung, and it is the most fertile of all that countrey. The quinces, poungranets, and other fruites there, exceede all other in bountie and greatnes, and they say, the reason is, for that the water wherewith they water it, passeth by a land compassed with this dung, which causeth the beautie of this fruite. So as these birdes have not only
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the flesh to serve for meate, their singing for recreation, their feathers for ornament and beautie, but also their dung serves to fatten the ground. The which hath bin so appointed by the soveraigne Creator, for the service of man, that he might remember to acknowledge and be loyall to him from whom all good proceedes.

Of Beasts for the Chases. CHAP. 38.

BEsides the Beasts of Chase, whereof we have spoken, which be common to the *Indies* and *Europe*, there are others which I doe not remember to have seene heere, vnlesse perhappes they have been brought from thence. There are beasts called *Sainos*, made like small hogges, which have this singular to themselves, to have their navill vpon the ridge of their backs: these go by troupes through the woods, they are cruell and nothing fearefull, but contrariwise they assaile, and have their tallents sharpe as rasors, wherewith they make dangerous wounds and incisions, if such as hunt them put not themselves in safetie. Such as hunt them, (for the more safer killing of them,) they climbe vp into trees, whither the *Sainos* or hogges come presently in troupes, biting the tree when they cannot hurt the man, and then with their launces they kill what they will. They are very good to eate, but they must of necessity cut off the round peece where the navil growes vpon the backe; for otherwise, within a day they corrupt. There is another kinde of little beast like to sucking pigges, and they call them *Guadatinaias*. I am in doubt whether there were any swine at the *Indies*, before the Spaniardes came thither, like to these in *paine*, for that in the discoverie of the Islands of *Solomon*,

man, it is said, they found hennes and swine of *Spaine*. But howsoever it be, it is most certaine, that this cattell hath greatly multiplied at the *Indies*. They eate the flesh fresh, and hold it to be as holefome and as good, as if it were of mutton; as in *Carthagene* in some partes, they are become wilde and cruell, the which they hunt like wilde boares, as we see in *S. Dominique*, and other Ilands where the beasts live in the forrests. In some places they feede them with the graine of Mays, and they grow wonderfully fatte, to have the grease, which they vse for want of oyle; in some places they make gamons, as in *Tolluca* of new *Spaine*, and in *Paria* at *Peru*. Returning then to such beasts as are peculiar there, even as the *Sainos* are like vnto swine, though somewhat lesse; even so the *Dantes* resemble small kine, but more vnto mules, having no hornes. The hides of these beasts are much esteemed for jerkins and other coverings, they are so hard as they resist any blow whatsoever. And as the *Dantes* be defended by the hardnes of their hides, so those which they call *Armadillos* are by the multitude of their scales, which open and shut as they please like to a curasse. There be lile beasts which go thorow the woods, called *Armadillos*, by reason of the defence they have hiding themselves within their scales, and opening when they list: I have eaten of them, and doe not holde it for a meate of any great woorth; but the flesh of the *Iguanas* is a better meate, but more horrible to the eye: for they are like to the very Lizardes of *Spaine*, although they be of a doubtfull kinde, for that they go to the water, & coming to land they climbe the trees vpon the bankes; and as they cast themselves from the trees into the water, the boates watch vnderneath to receive them. The *Chinchilles* is an other kind of

of small beasts, like squirrels, they have a woonderfull smoothe and soft skinne, which they weare as a healthfull thing to comfort the stomacke, and those partes that have neede of a moderate heate; they make coverings and rugges of the haire of these *Chinchilles*, which are found on the *Sierre of Peru*, where there is likewise a small beast very common which they call *Cuyes*, and which the *Indians* hold for a very good meate, and they are accustomed often to offer these *Cuyes* in their sacrifices. They are like small conies, and have their borrows in the ground, and in some places they have undermined all the land: some are grey, some white, and some speckled. There are other small animalles which they call *Viscachas*, and are like to hares, although they be bigger, they hunt them and eate the flesh. Of common hares there are great store in some parts. There are also connies in the realme of *Quitto*, but the good are come from *Spaine*. There is another strange beast, the which for his great heavinesse, and slownesse in mooving, they call *Perico-ligero*, or the little light dogge, hee hath three nailes to every hand, and mooves both hand and feete, as it were by compasse and very heavily: it is in face like to a monkie, and hath a shrill crie; it climeth trees, and eates Ants.

Of Micos or Indian Monkies. CHAP 39.

THroughout all the mountaines, cyther of these Islands of the firme land, or of the *Andes*, there are infinite numbers of *Micos* or Monkies, which are a kind of apes, but very different, in that they have a taile, yea a very long one. And amongst them there are some kinds which are thrise, yea foure times bigger than the ordinary,

ordinary; some are all blacke, some bay, some grey, and some spotted. Their agilitie and maner of doing is admirable, for that they seeme to have reason & discourse to go vpon trees, wherein they seeme to imitate birds. Going from *Nombre de Dios* to *Panama*, I did see in *Capira*, one of these monkies leape from one tree to another, which was on the other side of a river, making me much to wonder. They leape where they list, winding their tailes about a braunch to shake it: and when they will leape further than they can at once, they vse a pretty devise, tying themselves by the tailes one of another, and by this meanes make as it were a chaine of many: then doe they launch themselves foorth, and the first holpen by the force of the rest, takes holde where hee list, and so hangs to a bough, and helps all the rest, till they be gotten vp. It were long to report the fooleries, trickes, traverfes, and pleasant sportes they make when they are taught, which seeme not to come from brut beasts, but from a manlike vnderstanding. I sawe one in *Carthage* in the Governours house, so taught, as the things he did seemed incredible: they sent him to the Taverne for wine, putting the pot in one hand, and the money in the other; and they could not possibly gette the money out of his hand, before he had his pot full of wine. If any children merte him in the streete, and threw any stones at him, he would set his pot downe on the one side, and cast stones against the children till he had assured his way, then would he returne to carry home his pot. And which is more, although hee were a good bibber of wine (as I have oftentimes scene him drinke, when his maister hath given it him) yet would he never touch it vntill leave was given him. They told me moreover, that if hee sawe any women painted, he would

would fall vppon them, pull off their attire, and would seeke to bite them.

This may be an addition which I have not seene, but I doe not thinke there is any beast in the world approacheth so neare the conversation of a man, as this monkey doth. They report so many things, which for feare I shoulde be thought to give credite to fables, or they should be so esteemed, I thinke best to omitte, blessing the Author of all creatures, in that hee would create a kinde of beast, onely for the recreation and delight of man. Some report that they carried these *Micos* or *Monkees* to *Solomon* from the *Weast Indies*, but for my parte, I holde it was from the *East Indies*.

Of Vicuignes, and Tarnignes of Peru. CHAP. 40.

*Arist. libr. 3. de
partib. animal.
c. 3. lib. 10. c. 72*

Amongst the most remarkable things at the *Indies* of *Peru*, be the *Vicuignes*, and sheepe of the countie, as they call them, which are tractable beasts and of great profite, the *Vicuignes* are wilde, and the sheepe are tame. Some thinke that the *Vicuignes* are those which *Aristotle*, *Plinie*, and other Authors call *Capreas*, which are wilde goates, and in truth they have some resemblance, for the lightnes they have in the woodes and mountaines, but yet they are no goates, for the *Vicuignes* have no hornes, as those have, whereof *Aristotle* makes mention; neither are they the goates of the *East Indies*, from whom they draw the *Bezar* stone, for if they be of that kinde, it were a diuers one, as in the race of dogges, the mastie is diuers from the greyhound. The *Vicuignes* of *Peru* are not those beasts which carrie the *Bezar* stone, in the Province of new *Spaine*, which there they cal *Bezars*, for that they are a kind of Stagges

Historie of the Indies. lib. 4. 317

Staggess and Venison; yet do I not know in any part of the world there be any of these beasts, but in *Pern*, and in *Chille*, which are countries ioyning one to another. These *Vicugnes* are greater then goates, and lesse then calves. Their haire is of the colour of dried roses, somewhat cleerer; they have no hornes like Staggess and Goates. They feede vpon the heighest tops of the mountaines, which they call *Puñas*. The snowe nor frost doth not offend them, but contrariwise they seeme to delight in it. They goe in troupes, and runne most lightly; when they meete with any travellers or beasts, they fly away, seeming very fearefull, and in flying they drive their yong ones before them. They do not finde that they multiply much: and therefore the Kings *Inguas* did defend the hunting of *Vicugnes*; if it were not for their feasts, or by their commandement. Some complaine, that since the Spaniards entred there, they have given too much libertie to hunt the *Vicugnes*, and by this meanes they are much diminished. The maner the Indians vse in their hunting, they assemble many men together, to the number of 1000. or 2000. yea, more, and inuironing a great circuit of wood, they hunt their game vntill they have compassed it in on all parts, and by this meanes they commonly take three or foure hundred, and so choosing what they list, they let go the rest, especially the females for breede. They are accustomed to sheere these beasts, and of their fleece to make coverings and rugges of great value, for that this wooll is like to white silke, which lastes long: and as the colour is naturall and not died, so is it perpetuall. The stufes that are made of this wooll, are very fresh & good in summer, and they hold them profitable for the inflammation of the reines, & other parts
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tempering the excessive heate. This wooll hath the like vertue when it is made in quiltes, and therefore some vse it to that end, for the triall they have made thereof. They say moreover, that this wooll or coverings made thereof, is phisicall for other indispositions, as for the gowt: yet doe I not know that they have made any certaine triall thereof. The flesh of these *Vicugnes* is not good; although the *Indians* eat it, and drie it. For the effects of Physicke, I will say what I have seene vpon the *Sierre* of *Peru*, comming one night into a *Tambo* or Inne, being much afflicted with paine in mine eies, thinking they would fall out, (the which dooth commonly happen in those partes, for that they passe thorow places covered with snow, which is the cause of this accident. Being troubled with this paine, and out of patience, there came an *Indian* woman which said to me, Father, lay this to thine eies, and thou shalt be cured, it was a peece of the flesh of *Vicugnes* newly killed & all bloody. I vsed this medicine, & presently the pain ceased, and soone after went quite away. Besides these *Chacos* which is the most common manner of hunting at the *Indies*, they have vsed another more private to take them, which is, that comming neere, they do cast certaine lines with plummets of lead, which intangle their legges, so as they cannot runne, and by this means they take the *Vicugne*. The chiefe reason why this beast is esteemed, is, by reason of the *Bezars* stone they finde in them, whereof we will intreate heereafter. There is another kinde of beasts, which they call *Tarugues*, which likewise are wilde, and more nimble than the *Vicugnes*. They are greater of body, and more hote. They have soft eares and hanging: they goe not in troups as the *Vicugnes*. I have not seene them but alone,

and

and most commonly in high places. They also drawe *BeZars* stones from these *Tarugues*, which are greater, and have more operation and vertue.

Of Pacos, Guanacos, and Indian Mutions.

CHAP. 41.

There is nothing at *Peru* of greater riches and profite than the cattell of the country, which our men call *Indian* sheep, and the *Indians* in their generall language call them *Lama*. For all things well considered, it is a beast of the greatest profite and least charge of any that I knowe: from them they drawe meate and clothing, as from the sheepe of *Spaine*. Moreover they have the benefite to carry all things they have neede of, vsing them to beare their burthens: and they have no neede eyther of shooes or saddles, nor yet of oates, but he ferueth his maister for nought, feeding on the grasse hee findes in the fieldes; so as God hath furnished them of sheepe and mares, and all in one beast. And as it is a poore nation, so woulde hee in this poynt free them from charge, for that there is much pasture vppon the *Sierre*: and this kinde of cattell hath no neede of any other charge. There are two kindes of these sheepe or *Lamas*, the one they call *Pacos*, or sheep bearing wooll, and the others are bare, and have litle wooll, so are they better for burthen; they are bigger than great sheepe, and lesse than calves, they have a very long necke, like to a cammell, whereof they have good neede: for being high of stature, they have neede of a long necke, else should they be deformed. They are of diuerse colours, some all white, others all blacke, some grey and some spotted, which they call *Moromero*. The *Indians*

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had

had great superstitions in choosing the beasts for sacrifices; of what colour they should be; according to the diversitie of seasons and sacrifices. Their flesh is good, although it be hard, but that of their Lambs is the better, and the most delicate that can bee eaten: yet they eate not many, for that the chiefe fruite and profit they yielde, is their wooll, to make clothes, and their service to carry burdens. The *Indians* make stuffs of this wooll wherewith they clothe themselves, the one is grosse and common, which they call *Hanaca*, and the other fine and delicate which they call *Cumbi*; they make carpets and coverings, and other exquisite workes, which last long, and have a very faire lustre, like halfe silke: and that which is most rare, is their maner of weaving their workes, being both sides alike, so as you shall not find any end in a whole peece. The *Inqua* king of *Peru* had many chiefe workemen, to make this worke of *Cumbi*: and the which, for the most part, were resident in the Province of *Capachica*, ioyning to the great lake of *Titicaca*. They dye this wooll into diverse fine colours, with sundry kindes of hearbes, whereof they make many sortes of workes, both course and fine. All the *Indians*, both men and women, worke in the *Sierre*, and have their loomes in their houses, having no neede to buy any stuffes for their necessary uses. Of the flesh of these sheepe they make *Cuschargui*, or dried flesh, the which will last very long; whereof they make great account. They are accustomed to drive troupes of these sheepe with burthens, and to go in bandes, three hundred, five hundred, yea a thousand in a company, with wine, mays, coca, chuno, quicke silver, and all other kindes of marchandise, and of silver, which is the best of all. They carry barres of silver from *Potozi* to *Ariqua*, which

which is three score and tenne leagues. I have often
wondered to see these troupes of sheepe laden with a
thousand or two thousand barres of silver, and much
more, which is above three hundred thousand ducats,
without any other guard or escort than some *Indians*,
which serve onely to guide these sheepe, and to lade
and unlade them, or at the most, some few Spaniards:
and they sleepe all night in the middest of the fieldes,
without other garde: and yet in so long a way and so
weake a garde, they never finde want or losse of anie
thing in so great a treasure of silver, so safe is the way in
Peru. The burthen which one of these sheepe dooth
commonly carry, is of foure or sixe arrobes: when their
voyage is long they goe not above two, three, or foure
leagues at the most on a day. Those that guide these
troupes, have their ordinary lodgings, where they are
assured to have water and pasture, and there they un-
lade and set vpp their tents, making fire, and dressing
their meates, which is not painefull, although it be a
stigmatike and slowe manner of travell. When there
is but one dayes iourney, one of these sheepe will beare
eight arrobes in weight, or more, and beares this bur-
then eight or tenne leagues in a day, as the poore soul-
diers were wont to doe, when they marched through
Peru. This kinde of cattell delights most in a cold aire,
and for this cause they live vpon the *Sierre*, and die in
the *Lanos*, by reason of the heate. Sometimes these
sheepe are all covered with ice and frost, and yet they
continue found and well. The bare sheepe are pleasant
to behold, for they will stay vpon the way, raising vpp
their neckes, and will looke vpon any one very wistly,
and so they remaine a long time, without mooving or
any shew of feare, which giveth occasion of laughter,

*Six arrobes is a
hundred and
fifty pounds
weight.*

seeing them thus to stand. And yet sometimes they do growe amazed sodainely, and runne away with their burthens, even to the highest rockes; so as not being able to come vnto them, they are constrained to kil them with an harquebuze, lest they should loofe their barres of silver, which they sometimes carry. The *Pacos* will grow ready vnder their burdens, lying downe, and will endure to be cutte in a thousand peeces before they will rise when this humor takes them: whereof the proverb growes in *Peru*, to say that one is reastie, to signifie, he is obstinate; for that when any of these beasts is moode, it is with excesse: the remedy they have is, to stay and sit downe by the *Paco*, making much on him, vntill the fit be past, and that he rise: and sometimes they are forced to stay two or three houres. They have a disease like to scabbes, which they call *Carache*, whereof they commonly die. The Antients had a remedy, to bury them quicke that had the *Carache*, lest they shoulde infect the rest, being a very contagious disease, and goes from one to another. An *Indian* that hath one or two of these sheepe, is not reputed poore, for one of them is worth fixe or seaven peeces of assay, and more, according to the time and places.

Of the Bezaars stone. CHAP. 42.

THE *Bezaars* stone is found in all these beasts before mentioned, which are proper to *Peru*, whereof some Authors of our time have written whole bookes, which they may read that desire to have a more particular knowledge. For the present subiect it shall be sufficient to say, that this stone which they call *Bezaar*, is found in the stomacke and belly of this beast, sometimes

one alone, sometimes two, three, and foure. They are very different in forme, greatnesse and colour, for that some are small like filberds, & lesse; others like walnuts; some like pigeons egges, and others as bigge as a hens egge: and I have seene some as bigge as an orange; in forme some are round, others in fashion like to lentils, and many other formes. For their colour, som are black, some white, some grey, darke greene, and others, as if they had beene gilded. It is no certaine rule to iudge the best and most fine by the colour or forme. All these stones are made and fashioned of divers films and skins one vpon another. In the province of *Xaura* and other provinces of *Peru*, they find these stones in divers kinds of beasts, both wild and tame, as in the *Guanacos*, *Pacos*, *Vicugnes*, and *Tarugues*, some adde an other kind, which they say are wilde goates, which the Indians call *Cypri*. These other kindes of beasts are very well knownen in *Peru*, whereof wee have already discoursed. The *Guanacos* or country sheepe, or *Pacos*, have commonly the lesser stones, and blacke, neither are they so much approved for the vse of Physicke. They draw the greatest *Bezaar* stones from the *Vicugnes*, and they are grey, or white, or of a darke greene, which are helde for the better. They esteem those of the *Tarugues* for the most excellent, whereof there are some reasonable bigge: they are commonly white, inclining to grey; and they have the filmes commonly bigger and thicker than the rest.

They finde the *Bezaar* stone equally both in male and female. All beasts that ingender it, chaw the cuido, and commonly feede vpon the snow and rockes. The Indians reporte & teach by tradition from their fathers and Antients, that in the province of *Xaura*, and in o-

ther provinces of *Peru*, there are many herbs and venomous beasts, which poison the water and the pastures where they eate and drinke, and where they breathe: a middest which venomous hearbs there is one very well knowne of the *Vicugne*, by a naturall instinct, and of other beasts that ingender the *Bezaar* stone, which eate this hearb, and by meanes thereof they preserve themselves from the poisoned waters and pastures: and they say, that of this hearb the stone is compounded in the stomacke, whence it drawes all the vertue against poyson and other woonderfull effects. This is the opinion & tradition of the Indians, discovered by men of great experience in the kingdome of *Peru*, which agrees with reason, and with that which *Plinie* reports of the mountaine goates, which are nourished and fed vpon poison without suffering any harme. The Indians being demanded, why the sheepe, kine, goates, and calves, such as are in *Castille*, have not the *Bezaar* stone, seeing that they feede on the same rockes: their answer is, That they beleeeve not, that those beasts of *Castille* eate of that hearb, or that they have found the *Bezaar* stone in stags and fallow diere. This seemes to agree with our knowledge, for that in new *Spaine* they find the *Bezaar* stone, although there be no *Vicugnes*, *Pacos*, *Tarugues*, nor *Guanacos*, but only stags, in some of which they finde these stones.

The principall vertue of the *Bezaar* stone is against poison and venomous diseases, although there bee heerein diuers opinions, some hold it for a mockerie, others for a miracle. Howsoever it be, it is most certaine that it is of a great operation, when it is applied in time, & convenient in a maner, as hearbes, and to persons capable and disposed: for there is no medicine that

Plin. lib. 10. c. 72

that doth alwaies cure infallibly. In *Spaine* and *Italie*, we have seene admirable effects of this stone, against the *Taverdette*, which is a kinde of plague, but not so much as in *Peru*. They do apply it beaten and put into some liquor, which may make it fit for the cure of melancholy, the falling sickenes, pestilent feavers, & many other diseases. Some take it in wine, others in vinegar, with water *Dezahac*, of *Leangue de beuse*, borrag and other sortes, as the Phisitians and Apoticaries can tell. The *Bezaar* stone hath no proper favour, as *Rasis* the *Arabian* doth testifie. Wee have seene notable trialls, and there is no doubt but the Author of this vniversal world, hath given great vertues to this stone. The *Bezaar* stones which comes from the East *Indies*, have the first place of account, they are of an olive colour, the second are those of *Peru*, and the third those of New *Spaine*. Since that these stones were in request, they say, the Indians have made artificiall ones, and many when they see these stones greater then the ordinarie, they take them to be false and counterfait: triall and experience is the best mistres to know them. One thing is worthy admiration, that they grow and are fashioned vpon very strange things, as vpon the tagge of a point, vpon a pinne, or a peece of wood, which they finde in the centre of this stone, and yet do they not hold it false, for that the beast might swallow it, and the stone thicken vpon it, and growes one vpon another, and so it increaseth. I did see in *Peru*, two stones fashioned vpon *Pignons* of *Castille*, which made vs to wonder much, for that in all *Peru*, we had not seene any pines or *Pignons* of *Castille*, if they were not brought from *Spaine*, which seemes to me very extraordinary. This little may suffice touching the *Bezaars* stone. They

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bring other phisicall stones from the *Indies*, as the stone of *Hyada*, or of *Rate*, the bloud stone, the stones of milke, and of the sea. Those which they call *Cornerinas*, for the heart, whereof there is no neede to speake, having nothing common with the subiect of beastes, whereof we have intreated: which gives vs to vnderstand how the great Master and Author of all, hath imparted his benefites and wonderfull secrets, to all partes of the world; for the which he is to be glorified for ever.



Historia de las Indias X. P. 255
A Prologue to the Bookes following.

HAVING intreated of the Natural Historie of the Indies, I wil hereafter discourse of the Morall History, that is to say, of the deeds and customes of the Indies. For after the heaven, the temperature, the situation, & the qualities of the new world, after the elements & mixtures, I mean mettals, plants, & beasts, whercof we have spoken in the former Bookes, as occasion did serve: both Order & Reason doth invite us to continue and undertake the discourse of those men which inhabit the new world. And therefore I pretend in the following bookes, to speake what I thinke worthie of this subiect. And for that the intention of this Historie, is not onely to give knowledge of what hath passed at the Indies, but also to continue this knowledge, to the fruite we may gather by it, which is to helpe this people for their soules health, and to glorifie the Creator and Redeemer, who hath drawne them from the obscure darkenes of their insidelitie, and imparted unto them the admirable light of his Gospel. And therefore I will first speake in these bookes following, what concernes their religion, or superstition, their customes, their idolatries, and their sacrifices; and after, what concernes their policie and government, their lawes, customes, and their deeds. And for that the memorie is preserved amongst the Mexicaine Nation, of their beginnings, successions, warres, and other things worthie the relation: besides, that which shall be handled in the sixt booke, I will make a peculiar Discourse in the seventh, shewing the disposition and forewarnings this Nation had of the new Kingdome of Christ our Lord, which should be extended in these Countries, and should conquer them to himselfe, as he hath done in all the rest of the world. The which in truth is a thing worthie of great consideration, to see how the divine providence hath appointed, that the light
of

of his word should finde a passage in the furthest boundes of the world. It is not my proiect at this time to write what the Spaniards have done in those partes, for there are bookes e-
now written upon this subiect, nor yet how the Lordes ser-
vants have laboured and profited, for that requires a new
labour. I will onely content my selfe to plant this Historie and
relation at the doores of the Gospel, seeing it is already en-
tered, and to make knowne the Naturall and Morall things
of the Indies; to the end that Christianitie may be planted
and augmented, as it is expounded at large in the bookes we
have written, De procuranda Indiorum salute. And if any
one wonder at some fashions & customes of the Indies, & wil
scorne them as fooles, or abhorre them as divelish and inhu-
mane people, let him remember that the same things, yea,
worse, have beene seene amongst the Greekes and Romans,
who have commanded the whole world, as we may easily un-
derstand, not onely of our Authors, as Eusebius, of Cesarea,
Clement Alexandrine, and others, but also of their owne;
as Plinie, Denis Halicarnassus, and Plutarke: for the
Prince of darkenes being the head of all Infidelitie, it is no
new thing to finde among Infidells, cruelties, filthines, and
follies fit for such a Master. And although the ancient Gen-
tiles have farre surpassed these of the new world in valour
and naturall knowledge, yet may wee observe many things
in them worthe the remembrance. But to conclude, they shew
to be barbarous people, who being deprived of the supernatu-
rall light, want likewise philosophie and naturall knowledge.



THE
FIFT BOOKE
of the Naturall and Morall Hi-
storie of the Indies.

*That the Pride and Malice of the Divell, hath beene the
cause of Idolatrie.* CHAP. I.

THE Pride and Presumption of the Divell is so great & obstinate, that alwaies hee seekes and strives to be honoured as God: and doth arrogate to himselfe all hee can; whatsoever doth appertaine to the most high God, hee ceaseth not to abuse the blinde Nations of the world, vpon whom the cleere light of the holy Gospel hath not yet shone. Wee reade in *Iob* of this ^{*Iob. 41.*} proud tyrant, who setteth his eyes aloft, and amongst all the sonnes of pride, he is the King. The holy Scripture instructes vs plainely of his vile intentions, and his overweening treason, whereby he hath pretended to make his Throne, equall vnto Gods, saying in *Esay*, *Thou diddest say within thy selfe, I will mount vp to heaven,* ^{*Esa. 14.*} and

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Ezech. 28.

Mat. 12.

and set my chaire upon all the starres of heaven; and I will sit upon the toppe of the Firmament; and in the sides of the North, I will ascend above the height of the cloudes, and will be like to the most High. And in Ezechiel, Thy heart was lifted up, and thou hast said, I am God; and have set in the chaire of God in the midst of the sea. Thus doth Sathan continually persist in this wicked desire, to make himselfe God. And although the iust and severe chastisement of the most high hath spoiled him of all his pompe and beautie, which made him grow proud, being intreated as his fellonie and indiscretion had deserved, as it is written by the same Prophets, yet hath he left nothing of his wickednes and perverse practises; the which hee hath made manifest by all meanes possible, like a mad dogge that bites the sword where with he is stricken. For as it is written, the pride of such as hate God, doth alwaies increafe. Hence comes the continuall and strange care which this enemy of God hath alwaies had, to make him to be worshipt of men, inventing so many kinds of Idolatries, wherby he hath so long held the gretest part of the world in subiection; so as there scarce remaines any one corner for God & his people of Israel. And since the power of the Gospel hath vanquished and disarmed him, and that by the force of the Crosse, hee hath broken and ruined the most important and puissant places of his kingdome with the like tyrannie, hee hath begunne to assaile the barbarous people and Nations farthest off, striving to maintaine amongst them his false and lying divinitie, the which the Sonne of God had taken from him in his Church, tying him with chaines as in a cage or prison, like a furious beast to his great confusion, & reioicing of the servants of God, as he doth signify in Iob.

But

But in the end, although idolatrie had beene rooted out of the best and most notable partes of the worlde, yet he hath retired himself into the most remotes partes, and hath ruled in that other part of the worlde, which although it be much inferiour in nobilitie, yet is it not of lesse compasse. There are two causes and chiefe motives, for the which the divell hath so much laboured to plant idolatry and all infidelity, so as you shall hardly finde any Nation where there is not some markes thereof. The one is this great presumption and pride, which is such, that whoso would consider, how hee durst affront the very Sonne of God, and true God in saying impudently, that he should fall downe and worship him: the which he did, although he knew not certainly that this was the very God, yet had he some opinion that it was the Sonne of God. A most cruell and horrible pride, to dare thus impudently affront his God; truly he shall not finde it very strange, that hee makes himselfe to be worshipped as God, by ignorant Nations, seeing hee would seeke to be worshipped by God himselfe, calling himselfe God, being an abominable and detestable creature. The other cause and motive of idolatrie, is the mortall hatred hee hath conceived for ever against mankind. For as our Saviour saith, hee hath beene a murderer from the beginning, and holdes it as a condition and inseparable qualitie of his wickednesse. And for that he knowes the greatest misery of man, is to worship the creature for God: for this reason hee never leaves to invent all sortes of Idolatries, to destroy man; and make him enemy to God. There are two mischiefes which the divell causeth in idolatry; the one, that hee denies his God, according to the text, *Thou hast left thy God who created thee.* The other

Mat. 4.

Dent. 32.

ther is, that hee dooth subiect himselfe to a thing baser than himselfe; for that all creatures are inferior to the reasonable; and the diuell, although hee be superior to man in nature; yet in estate he is much inferior, seeing that man in this life is capable of Divinitie and Eternitie. By this meanes God is dishonoured, and man lost in all parts by idolatry, wherwith the diuell in his pride is well content.

Of many kinde of idolatry the Indians have vsed.

CHAP. 2.

Sap. 14.

IDolatry saith the holy-Ghost by the Wise man, is the cause, beginning, and end of all miseries, for this cause the enemy of mankind hath multiplied so many sortes and diversities of idolatry, as it were an infinite matter to specifie them all. Yet we may reduce idolatry to twoo heades, the one grounded vpon naturall things; the other vpon things imagined and made by mans invention. The first is divided into two; for eyther the thing they worship is generall, as the Sunne, Moone, Fire, Earth and Elements, or else it is particular, as some certayne river, fountaine, tree, or Forrest, when these things are not generally worshipped in their kinde, but onely in patticular. In this first kind of idolatry they have exceeded in *Peru*, and they properly call it *Guaca*. The second kinde of idolatry which depends of mans invention & fictions, may likewise be divided into two sortes, one which regards onely the pure arte and invention of man, as to adore the Images or statues of gold, wood, or stone of *Mercury* or *Pallas*, which neyther are, nor ever were any thing else but the bare pictures: and the other that concernes that which really

ally hath beene, and is in truth the same thing, but not such as idolatry faines, as the dead, or some things proper vnto them, which men worshippe through vanitie and flatterie, so as wee reduce all to foure kindes of idolatry, which the infidells vse; of all which it behooveth vs to speake something.

That the Indians have some knowledge of God.

CHAP. 3.

First, although the darkenesse of infidelitie holdeth these Nations in blindenesse, yet in many things the light of truth and reason works somewhat in them. And they commonly acknowledge a supream Lord and Author of all things, which they of *Peru* called *Vnachochoa*, and gave him names of great excellence, as *Pachacamac*, or *Pachayachachic*, which is, the Creator of heaven and earth: and *Vsapu*, which is admirable, and other like names. Him they did worship, as the chiefest of all, whom they did honor in beholding the heaven. The like wee see amongst them of *Mexico*, and *China*, and all other infidels. Which accordeth well with that which is saide of Saint *Paul*, in the Acts of the Apostles, where hee did see the Inscription of an Altare, *Ignoto Deo*: To the vnknowne God. Whereupon the Apostle tooke occasion to preach vnto them, saying, *He whom you worship without knowing, him doe I* Acts, 17. *preach vnto you.* In like sort, those which at this day do preach the Gospel to the *Indians*, find no great difficultie to perswade them that there is a high God and Lord over all, and that this is the Christians God, and the true God. And yet it hath caused great admiration in me, that although they had this knowledge, yet had they

they no proper name for God. If wee shall seeke into the *Indian* tongue for a word to answer to this name of God, as in Latin, *Deus*, in Greeke, *Theos*, in Hebrew, *El*, in Arabike, *Alla*, but wee shall not finde any in the *Cuscan* or *Mexicaine* tongues. So as such as preach or write to the *Indians*, vse our Spaniſh name *Dios*, fitting it to the accent or pronounciation of the *Indian* tongues, the which differ much, whereby appeares the small knowledge they had of God, seeing they cannot so much as name him, if it be not by our very name: yet in trueth they had some litle knowledge; and therefore in *Peru* they made him a rich temple, which they called *Pachacamac*, which was the principall Sanctuarie of the realme. And as it hath beene saide, this word of *Pachacamac*, is as much to say, as the Creator, yet in this temple they vsed their idolatries, worshipping the Diuell and figures. They likewise made sacrifices and offrings to *Viracocha*, which helde the chiefe place amongst the worships which the Kings *Inguas* made. Heereof they called the Spaniards *Virocochas*, for that they holde opinion they are the sonnes of heaven, and diuine, even as others did attribute a deitie to *Paul* and *Barnabas*, calling the one *Iupiter*, and the other *Mercurie*, so would they offer sacrifices vnto them, as vnto gods: and as the Barbarians of *Melite* (which is *Malté*) seeing that the viper did not hurt the Apostle, they called him God.

Actes. 18.

Pla. in Tim.
Arist. c. vi. 2.
metaph.
Tresmigist.
Diman. &
Aleph.

As it is therefore a trueth, conformable to reason, that there is a soveraigne Lorde and King of heaven, whome the Gentiles (with all their infidelities and idolatries) have not denied, as wee see in the Philosophy of *Timee* in *Plato*, in the Metaphisickes of *Aristotle*, and in the *Æsculape* of *Tresmigist*, as also in the Poesies of

Homer

Homer & Virgil. Therefore the Preachers of the Gospel have no great difficultie to plant & perswade this truth of a supreme God, be the Nations of whom they preach never so barbarous and brutish. But it is hard to roote out of their mindes, that there is no other God, nor any other deitie then one: and that all other things of themselves have no power, being, nor working proper to themselves, but what the great and only God and Lord doth give and impart vnto them: To conclude, it is necessarie to perswade them by all meanes, in reproving their errors, as well in that wherein they generally faile, in worshipping more then one God, as in particular, (which is much more) to hold for Gods, and to demand favour and helpe of those things which are not Gods, nor have any power, but what the true God their Lord and Creator hath given them.

Of the first kinde of Idolatrie, vp on naturall and vniuersall things. CHAP. 4.

NEXT to *Viracocha*, or their supreme God, that which most commonly they have and do adore amongst the Infidells, is the Sunne; and after, those things which are most remarkable in the celestially or elementarie nature, as the moone, starres, sea, and land. The *Gnacs*, or Oratories, which the *Inguas* Lords of *Peru*, had in greatest reverence, next to *Viracocha* and the sunne, was the thunder which they called by three diuers names, *Chuquilla*, *Catuilla*, and *Intiillapa*, supposing it to bee a man in heaven, with a sling and a mace, and that it is in his power to cause raine, haile, thunder, and all the rest that appertaines to the region of the aire, where the

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cloudes

cloudes engender. It was a *Guaca*, (for so they called their Oratories,) generall to all the *Indians* of *Peru*, offering vnto him many sacrifices: and in *Cusco*, which is the Court and Metropolitane Cittie, they did sacrifice children vnto him, as to the Sunne. They did worship these three, *Viracocha*, the Sunne, and Thunder after another maner then all the rest, as *Pollo* writes who had made triall thereof, they did put as it were a gauntlet or glove vpon their hands, when they did lift them vp to worshippinge them. They did worshippinge the earth, which they called *Pachamama*, as the Ancients did the goddesse *Tellus*: and the sea likewise which they call *Mamacocha*, as the Ancients worshipped *Tetis*, or *Nep-tune*. Moreover, they did worship the rainebow, which were the armes and blazons of the *Ingua*, with two snakes stretched out on either side. Amongst the starres they all did commonly worship that which they called *Colca*, and we heere *Cabrille*. They did attribute diuers offices to diuers starres, and those which had neede of their fauour did worship them, as the shepheard did sacrifice to a starre which they called *Vrcubillay*, which they hold to be a sheepe of diuers colours, having the care to preserve their cattell; and they imagine it is that which the Astronomers call *Tyra*. These shepheards worshippinge two other starres, which walke neere vnto them, they call them *Catubillay*, and *Vrcubillay*; and they faine them to be an Ewe and a Lambe. Others worshipped a starre which they called *Machacnay*, to which they attribute the charge and power over serpents, and snakes, to keepe them from hurting of them. They ascribe power to another starre, which they called *Chuguinchinchay*, (which is as much as Tigre,) over Tigres, Beares, and Lyons, and they have generally be-
leeued

leeved, that of all the beasts of the earth, there is one alone in heaven like vnto them, the which hath care of their procreation and increase. And so they did observe and worship divers starres, as those which they called *Chacana*, *Topatarca*, *Mamanan*, *Mirco*, *Miquiquicay*, and many other. So as it seemed they approached somewhat neere the propositions of *Platoes* Ideas. The *Mexicaines* almost in the same maner after the supreme God, worshiped the Sunne: And therefore they called *Hernando Cortez*,) as he hath written in a letter sent vnto the Emperour *Charles* the fift.) Sonne of the Sunne, for his care and courage to compasse the earth. But they made their greatest adoration to an Idol called *Vitziliputzli*, the which in all this region they called the most puissant, and Lord of all things for this cause the *Mexicaines* built him a Temple, the greatest, the fairest, the highest, and the most sumptuous of all other. The situation & beautie thereof, may wel be conjectured by the ruines which yet remaine in the midst of the Cittie of *Mexico*. But heere the *Mexicaines* Idolatrie hath bin more pernicious and hurtfull then that of the *Inguas*, as wee shall see plainer heereafter, for that the greatest part of their adoration and idolatrie, was imployed to Idols, and not to naturall things, although they did attribute naturall effects to these Idolls, as raine, multiplication of cattell, warre, and generation, even as the Greekes and Latins have forged Idolls of *Phæbus*, *Mercurie*, *Iupiter*, *Minerva*, and of *Mars*. To conclude, who so shall neerely looke into it, shall finde this manner which the Divell hath vsed to deceive the Indians, to be the same wherewith hee hath deceived the Greekes and Romans, and other ancient Gentiles, giving them to vnderstand that these notable

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Sep. 13.

Rom. I.

creatures, the Sunne, Moone, Starres, and Elements, had power and authoritie to doe good or harme to men. And although God hath created all these things for the vse of man; yet hath he so much forgotte himselfe, as to rise vp against him. Moreover, he hath imbaled himselfe to creatures that are inferiour vnto himselfe; worshiping and calling vpon their workes, forsaking his Creator. As the Wise man saith well in these wordes, *All men are vaine and abused that have not the knowledge of God, seeing they could not know him, that is, by the things that seemed good vnto them: and although they have beheld his workes, yet have they not attained to know the author and maker thereof, but they have beleueed that the fire, winde, swift aire, the course of the starres, great rivers, with Sunne and Moone, were Gods and governours of the world: and being in love with the beautie of these things, they thought they should esteeme them as Gods.* It is reason they should consider how much more faire the Creator is, seeing that he is the Author of beauties and makes all things. Moreover, if they admire the power and effects of these things, thereby they may vnderstand how much more mightie hee is that gave them their being, for by the beautie and greatnes of the creatures, they may iudge what the Maker is. Hitherto are the wordes of the Booke of Wisedome, from whence we may draw a good and strong argument, to overthrow the Idolatrie of Infidells, who seeke rather to serve the creature then the Creator, as the Apostle doth iustly reprehend them. But for as much as this is not of our present subiect, and that it hath been sufficiently treated of in the Sermons written against the errors of the Indians, it shall bee sufficient now to shew that they did worship the great God, and their vaine and

and lying gods all of one fashion: for their maner to pray to *Viracocha*, to the Sunne, the Starres, and the rest of their Idolls, was to open their hands, and to make a certaine sound with their mouthes, (like people that kissed,) and to aske that which every one desired in offering his sacrifices, yet was there great difference betwixt the wordes they vsed in speaking to the great *Ticiviracocha*, to whom they did attribute the cheefe power and commandement over all things, and those they vsed to others, the which every one did worship privately in his house, as Gods or particular Lords, saying, that they were their intercessors to this great *Ticiviracocha*. This maner of worship, opening the hands, and as it were kissing, hath something like to that which *Iob* had in horror, as fit for Idolaters, saying, *If I have kissed my hands with my mouth, beholding the Sunne when it shines, or the Moone when it is light, the which is a great iniquitie, and to deny the most great God.* Iob. 31.

Of the Idolatry the Indians vsed to particular things.

CHAP. 5.

THE Divell hath not beene contented to make these blinde Indians to worshippinge the Sunne, Moone, Starres, Earth and Sea, and many other generall things in nature, but hee hath passed on further, giving them for God, and making them subject to base and abiect things, and for the most part, filthy and infamous. No man needes to woonder at this barbarous blindnes, if hee remember what the Apostle speaketh of Wise men R. w. 11. and Philosophers, That having knowne God, they did not glorifie him, nor give him thankes as to their God; but they were lost in their own imaginations and conceits,

ceipts, and their hearts were hardened in their follies, and they have changed the glory and deity of the eternall God, into shews and figures of vaine and corruptible things, as men, birds, beasts and serpents: we know well that the Egyptians did worship the Dogge of *Osiris*, the Cow of *Isis*, and the Sheepe of *Ammon*: the Romans did worship the goddesse *Februa*, of Feavers, and the *Tarpeien* Goose: and *Athenes* the wise did worship the Cocke and the Raven, and such other like vanities and mockeries, whereof the auntient Histories of the Gentiles are full. Men fell into this great misery, for that they would not subiect themselves to the Lawe of the true God and Creator; as *Saint Athanasius* dooth learnedly handle, writing against Idolatry. But it is wonderfull strange to see the excessse which hath beene at the *Indies*, especially in *Peru*: for they worshipped rivers, fountaines, the mouthes of rivers, entries of mountaines, rockes or great stones, hilles and the tops of mountains, which they call *Apachitas*, and they hold them for matters of great devotion. To conclude, they did worship all things in nature, which seemed to them remarkable and different from the rest, as acknowledging some particular deitie.

They shewd me in *Caxamalca* of *Nasca* a little hill or great mount of sand, which was the chiefe Idoll or *Guaca* of the Antients. I demaunded of them what divinitie they found in it: They answered, that they did worship it for the woonder, beeing a very high mount of sand, in the midst of very thicke mountains of stone. Wee had neede in the cittie of *Kings*, of great store of great wood; for the melting of a Bell, and therefore they cut downe a great deformed tree, which for the greatnesse and antiquitie thereof had beene a long time
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Historie of the Indies lib. 5. 341

the Oratorie and *Guaca* of the *Indians*. And they beleev-
 ed there was a certaine Divinity in any thing that was
 extraordinary and strange in his kinde, attributing the
 like vnto small stones and mettalls; yea vnto rootes and
 fruites of the earth, as the rootes they call *Papas*. There
 is a strange kinde which they call *Lallabuas*, which they
 kissed and worshipped. They did likewise woorshippe
 Beares, Lions, Tygres and Snakes, to thend they should
 not hurt them: and such as their gods bee, such are the
 things they offer vnto them in their worshippinge. They
 have vsed as they goe by the way, to cast, in the crosse
 wayes, on the hilles, and toppes of mountaines, which
 they call *Apachittas*, olde shooes, feathers, and Coca
 chewed, being an hearb they vse much. And when
 they have nothing left, they cast a stone as an offering,
 that they might passe freely, and have greater force, the
 which they say increaseth by this meanes, as it is repor-
 ted in a provincially Counsell of *Pernu*. And therefore
 they finde in the hie wayes great heapes of stones offe-
 red, and such other things. The like follie did the An-
 tients vse, of whome it is spoken in the Proverbs, *Like*
vnto him that offereth stones vnto Mercurie, such a one is
hee that honoureth fooles, meaning that a man shall reape
 no more fruit nor profit of the second than the first, for
 that their God *Mercury*, made of stone, dooth not ac-
 knowledge any offering, neyther doth a foole any ho-
 nour that is doone him. They vsed another offering no
 lesse pleasant and ridiculous, pulling the haire from the
 ceyebrowes to offer it to the Sunne, hills, *Apachittas*, to
 the winds, or to any other thing they feare. Such is the
 miseries that many *Indians* have lived in, and do to this
 day, whom the diuell doth abuse like very Babes, with
 any foolish illusion whatsoever: So dooth Saint *Chry-*

Concil. Limen.

2. p. 2. cap. 99.

Prov. 27.

Some in one of his Homilies compare them, but the servants of God which labour to draw them to salvation, ought not to contemne these follies and childishnesse, being sufficient to plunge these poore abused creatures into eternall perdition; but they ought with good and cleere reasons, to drawe them from so great ignorance. For in trueth it is a matter woorthy of consideration, to see how they subiect themselves to such as instruct them in the true way of life. Ther is nothing among all the creatures more beautifull than the sunne, which all the Gentiles did commonly worship. A discreete captaine and good christian told me, that he had with a good reason perswaded the Indians, that the Sunne was no god. He required the *Cacique* or chiefe Lord, to give him an Indian that were light, to carry him a Letter; which doone, he saide to the *Cacique*, Tel me, who is Lord and chiefe, either this Indian that carries the letter, or thou that dost send him? The *Cacique* answered, without doubt I am, for he dooth but what I commaund him. Even so replied the Captaine, is it of the Sunne we see, and the Creator of all things: For that the Sunne is but a servant to the most high Lorde, which (by his commaundement) runnes swiftly, giving light to all nations. Thus thou seest it is against reason to yeeld that honour to the Sunne, which is due to the Creator and Lord of all. The Captaines reason pleased them all; and the *Cacique* with his Indians sayde it was trueth, and they were much pleased to vnderstand it.

They report of one of the Kings *Inguas*, a man of a subtil spirit, who (seeing that all his predecessors had worshipped the Sunne,) said, that hee did not take the Sunne to be God, neither could it be, for that God was

a great Lord, who with great quiet and leasure performeth his workes, and that the Sunne doth never cease his course, saying, that the thing which laboured so much could not seeme to be God. Wherein hee spake truth. Even so, when they shew the Indians their blind errors, by lively and plaine reasons, they are presently perswaded and yeelde admirably to the trueth.

Of another kinde of idolatry upon the dead.

CHAP. 6.

Here is an other kinde of idolatry, very different from the rest, which the Gentiles have used for the deads sake whom they loved and esteemed: and it seemeth that the Wise man would give vs to vnderstand, that the beginning of idolatry proceeded thence, saying thus; *The seeking of Idolles was the beginning of fornication, and the bringing vp of them is the destruction of life;* *1 mjd. 14.* for they were not from the beginning, neither shall they continue for ever, but the vanitie and idlenesse of men hath found out this invention, therefore shall they shortly come to an end: for when a father mourned heavily for the death of his miserable sonne, he made for his consolation, an Image of the dead man, and beganne to worshippe him as a god, who a little before had ended his daies like a mortall man, commanding his servants to make ceremonies & sacrifices in remembrance of him. Thus in proceesse of time this vngenerous custome waxing strong, was held for a lawe, and Images were worshipped by the commaundement of Kings and Tirantes. Then they beganne to doe the like to them that were absent, and such as they could not honour in presence, being farre off, they did worship in this sort, causing the Images of Kings to be brought whom they would worship, supplying (by this invention)

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vention) their absence whom they desired to flatter. The curiousitie of excellent workmen increased this Idolatrie, for these Images were made so excellent by their Art, that the ignorant were provoked to worshipping them, so as by the perfection of their Arte, pretending to content them that gave them to make, they drew Pictures and Images farre more excellent: and the common people, ledde with the shew and grace of the worke, did holde and esteeme him for a God, whome before they had honoured as a man: And this was the miserable error of men, who sometimes yeelding to their affection and sence, sometimes to the flatterie of their Kings, did attribute unto stones the incommunicable name of God, worshipping them for Gods.

All this is in the booke of Wisedome, woorthy to be noted; and such as are curious in the search of Antiquities, shall finde that the beginning of idolatry were these Images of the dead. I say idolatry, which is properly the worship of Idolles and Images: for that it is not certaine that this other idolatry to worship the creatures, as the Sunne, and the hostes of heaven, or the number of Planets and Starres, whereof mention is made in the Prophets, hath beene after the idolatry of Images, although without doubt they have made idols in honour of the Sunne, the Moone, and the Earth. Returning to our Indians they came to the height of Idolatry by the same meanes the Scripture maketh mention of: first they had a care to keepe the bodies of their Kings and Noblemen whole, from any ill scent or corruption above two hundred yeares. In this sorte were their Kings *Inguas* in *Cusco*, every one in his Chappell and Oratorie, so as the Marquise of *Cancite* being Viceroy, to root out Idolatry, caused three or foure of their gods to be drawne out and carried to the city of *Kings*, which

Ier. 10.

Soph. 2.

which bredde a great admiration, to see these bodies (dead so many yeares before) remaine so faire and also whole. Every one of these Kings *Inguas* left all his treasure and revenues, to entertaine the place of worshippe where his body was layed, and there were many Ministers with all his familie dedicated to his service: for no King successor did vsurpe the treasures and plate of his predecessor, but he did gather all new for himselfe, and his pallace. They were not content with this Idolatry to dead bodies, but also they made their figures and representations: and every King in his life time caused a figure to be made wherein he was represented, which they called *Guaigui*, which signifieth brother, for that they should doe to this Image, during his life and death, as much honor and reverence as to himself. They carryed this Image to the warres, and in procession for rayne or fayre weather, making sundry feastes and sacrifices vnto them. There have beene many of these Idolles in *Cusco*, and in that territorie, but nowe they say that this superstition of worshipping of stones hath altogether ceased, or for the most part, after they had beene discovered by the diligence of the Licentiate *Pollo*, and the first was that of the *Inguas Rocha*, chief of the faction or race of *Hanam Cusco*. And we find that among other Nations they had in great estimation and reverence the bodies of their predecessors, and did likewise worship their Images.

Of Superstitions they used to the Dead. CHAP. 7.

THE Indians of *Peru* beleeeved commonly that the Soules lived after this life, and that the good were in glorie, and the bad in paine; so as there is little diffcultie

cultie to perswade them to these articles. But they are not yet come to the knowledge of that point, that the bodies should rise with the soules. And therefore they did vse a wonderfull care, as it is saide, to preserve the bodies which they honoured after death: to this end their successors gave them garments, and made sacrifices vnto them, especially the Kings *Inguas*, being accompanied at their funeralls, with a great number of servants and women for his service in the other life: and therefore on the day of his decease, they did put to death the woman he had loved best, his servants and officers that they might serve him in the other life.

Whenas *Guanacapa* died, (who was father to *Atahualpa*, at what time the Spaniards entred,) they put to death about a thousand persons of all ages and conditions, for his service to accompany him in the other life, after many songs and drunkennes they slew them; and these that were appointed to death, held themselves happy. They did sacrifice many things vnto them, especially yong children, and with the blood they made a stroake on the dead mans face, from one care to the other. This superstition and inhumanitie, to kill both men and women, to accompanie and serve the dead in the other life, hath beene followed by others, and is at this day vsed amongst some other barbarous Nations. And as *Pollo* writes, it hath beene in a maner generall throughout all the *Indies*. The Reverent *Beda* reportes, that before the Englishmen were converted to the Gospel, they had the same custome, to kill men to accompanie and serve the dead. It is written of a Portugall, who being captive among the Barbarians, had beene hurt with a dart, so as he lost one eye, and as they would have sacrificed him to accompanie

Historie of the Indies. lib.5. 347

pany a Nobleman that was dead, hee said vnto them, that those that were in the other life, would make small account of the dead, if they gave him a blind man for a companion; & that it were better to give him an attendant that had both his eyes. This reason being found good by the Barbarians, they let him go. Besides this superstition of sacrificing men to the dead, beeing vsed but to great Personages, there is another far more general & common in all the *Indies*, which is, to set meate and drinke vpon the grave of the dead, imagining they did feede thereon: the which hath likewise beene an error amongst the Ancients, as saint *Augustine* writes, and therefore they gave them meate and drinke. At this day many Indian Infidells, doe secretly draw their dead out of the churchyard, and burie them on hilles, or vpon passages of mountaines, or else in their owne houses. They have also vsed to put gold and silver in their mouth, hands, and bosome, and to apparell them with new garments durable, and well lined vnder the herse.

They beleeve that the soules of the dead wandred vp and downe and indure colde, thirst, hunger and travell, and for this cause they make their anniverfaries, carrying them clothes, meate and drinke. So as the Prelates, neither Synodes, above all things, give charge to their Priests to let the Indians vnderstand, that the offerings that are set vpon the sepulchre, is not to feede the dead, but for the poore and ministers, and that God alone dooth feede the soules in the other life; seeing they neither eate nor drinke any corporall thing, being verry needefull they should vnderstand it, lest they should convert this religious vse into a superstition of the gentiles, as many doe.

of

*Of the manner of burying the dead among the Mex-
icaine and sundrie other Nations.*

CHAP. 8.

HAVING reported what many nations of *Pern* have done with their dead, it shall not be from the purpose, to make particular mention of the *Mexicaines* in this poynt, whose mortuaries were much solemnised, and full of notable follies. It was the office of the priests and religious of *Mexico* (who lived there with a strange observance, as shall be saide heereafter) to interre the dead, and doe their obsequies. The places where they buried them, was in their gardens, and in the courts of their owne houses: others carried them to the places of sacrifices which were doone in the mountaines: others burnt them, and after buried the ashes in their Temples; and they buried them all, with whatsoever they had, of apparel, stones, and jewells. They did put the ashes of such as were burnt into pots, & with them, the jewells, stones, and earerings of the dead, how rich and pretious soever. They did sing the funerall offices, like to answeres, and did often lift vp the dead bodies, dooing many ceremonies. At these mortuaries they did eate and drinke; and if it were a person of qualitie, they gave apparrell to all such as came to the interment. When any one dyed, they layd him open in a chamber, vntill that all his kinsfolkes and friendes were come, who brought presents vnto the dead, and saluted him as if he were living. And if hee were a King or Lord of some towne, they offered him slaves to be put to death with him, to the end they might serve him in the other world. They likewise put to death his priest,

or chaplaine (for every Noble man had a priest which administred these ceremonies within his house,) and then they killed him, that hee might execute his office with the dead. They likewise killed his cooke, his butler, his dwarfes, and deformed men, by whome he was most served: neyther did they spare the very brothers, of the dead, who had most served them: for it was a greatnesse amongst the Noble men, to be served by theyr brethren and the rest. Finally, they put to death all of his traine, for the entertaining of his house in the other world: and lest poverty should oppresse them, they buried with them much wealth, as golde, silver, stones, curtins of exquisite worke, bracelets of gold, and other rich peeces. And if they burned the dead, they vsed the like with all his servants; and ornaments they gave him for the other world. Then tooke they all the ashes they buried with very great solemnity. The obsequies continued tenne dayes, with songs of plaints, and lamentations, and the priests caried away the dead with so many ceremonies; and in so great number, as they could scarce account them. To the Captaines and Noblemen they gave trophées and markes of honour, according to their enterprises and valor employed in the warres and governments; for this effect they had armes and particular blasons. They carried these markes or blazons to the place where hee desired to be buried or burnt, marching before the body, and accompanying it, as it were in procession, where the priests and officers of the Temple went with diverse furnitures and ornaments, some casting incense, others singing, and some sounding of mournfull flutes and drummes, which did much increase the sorrow of his kinsfolkes and subiects. The priest who did the office

was

was decked with the markes of the idoll which the noble man had represented; for all noble men did represent idolles, and carried the name of some one: and for this occasion they were esteemed and honoured. The order of knighthood did commonly carry these foresaide markes. He that should be burnt, being brought to the place appoynted, they environed him with wood of pine trees, and all his baggage, then set they fire vnto it, increasing it still with goomie wood, vntill that all were converted into ashes, then came there forth a Priest attired like a Divell, having mouthes vpon every ioynt of him, and many eyes of glasse, holding a great staffe, with the which hee did mingle all the ashes very boldly, and with so terrible a gesture, as hee terrified all the assistants. Sometimes this minister had other different habites, according to the quallitie of the dead. I have made this digression of obsequies and funeralls, vpon the idolatry and superstition they had to the dead. It is reason to returne now to our chiefe subject, and to finish this matter.

The fourth and last kinde of Idolatry the Indians used, especially the Mexicaines to Images and Idolls. CHAP. 9.

ALthough in trueth God is greatly offended with these above named Idolatries, where they worship the creatures; yet the holy Ghost doth much more reprove and condemne another kind of idolatry, and that is of those that worship Images and figures made by the hand of men; which have nothing else in them but to be of wood, stone, or mettall, and of such forme as God hath given them. And therefore the Wiseman speaketh

speaketh thus of such people, *They are miserable, whose hopes may be counted among the dead; that have called the workes of mens handes gods; as golde, silver, and the invention of the likenes of beastes, or a fruitlesse stone, which hath nothing more in it than antiquitie.* And hee dooth divinely follow this proposition against this errour and follie of the Gentiles, as also the Prophets *Esay, Ieremy, Baruch,* & King *David* doe treat thereof amply. It is convenient and necessary that the Ministers of Christ which doe prove the errors of idolatry, should have a good sight, and consider well these reasons which the holy-Ghost doth so lively set downe, being all reduced into a short sentence, by the Prophet *Osee*, *Hee that hath made them was a workeman, and therefore can they be no gods, therefore the Calfe of Samaria shalbe like the Spiders webbe.* Returning to our purpose, there hath beene great curiositie at the *Indies* in making of idolles and pictures of diverse formes and matters, which they worshipped for gods, and in *Peru* they called them *Guacas*, being commonly of fowle and deformed beasts, at the least, such as I have seene, were so. I beleeve verily that the Diuel, in whose honour they made these idolles, was pleased to cause himselfe to be worshipped in these deformities, and in trueneth it was found so, that the Divell spake and answered many of these *Guacas* or idolls, and his priestes and ministers came to these Oracles of the father of lies, and such as he is, such were his counsells and prophesies. In the provinces of *New Spaine, Mexico, Tescuco, Tlascalla, Cholula*, and in the neighbour countries to this realme, this kinde of idolatry hath beene more pacified than in any other realme of the world. And it is a prodigious thing to heare the superstitions reherled that they have used in that poynt, of the which it shall not be vnplea-

Esa. 44.

Iere. 10.

Baruch 6.

Psal. 113.

Osee. 8.

fant to speake something. The chiefeft idoll of *Mexico* was, as I have sayde, *Vitziliputzli*. It was an image of wood like to a man, set vpon a stoole of the colour of azure, in a brankard or litter, at every corner was a piece of wood in forme of a Serpents head. The stoole signified that he was set in heaven: this idoll hadde all the forehead azure, and had a band of azure vnder the nose from one eare to another: vpon his head he had a rich plume of feathers, like to the beake of a small bird, the which was covered on the toppe with golde burnished very browne: hee had in his left hand a white target, with the figures of five pine apples, made of white feathers, set in a crosse: and from above issued forth a crest of gold, and at his sides hee hadde foure darts, which (the Mexicaines say) had beene sent from heaven to do those actes and prowesses which shall be spoken of: In his right hand he had an azured staffe, cutte in fashion of a waving snake. All these ornaments with the rest hee had, carried his sence as the Mexicaines doe shew. the name of *Vitziliputzli* signifies the left hand of a shining feather.

I will speake heereafter of the prowde Temple, the sacrifices, feasts and ceremonies of this great idoll, being very notable things. But at this present we will only shew, that this idoll thus richly appareled and deckt, was set vpon an high Altare, in a small peece or boxe, well covered with linnen clothes, iewells, feathers and ornaments of golde, with many rundles of feathers, the fairest and most exquisite that could be found: hee had alwaies a curtine before him for the greater veneration. Ioyning to the chamber or chappell of this idoll, there was a peece of lesse worke, and not so well beautified, where there was another idoll they called *Tlaloc*. These

two idolls were alwayes together, for that they held them as companions, and of equall power. There was another idoll in *Mexico* much esteemed, which was the god of repentance, and of iubilies and pardons for their finnes. They called this idoll *Texcallipuca*, he was made of a blacke shining stone like to *Iayel*, being attired with some Gentile devises after their manner; it had eare-rings of golde and silver, and through the nether lippe a small canon of cristall, in length halfe a foote: in the which they sometimes put a greene feather, and sometimes an azured, which made it resemble sometimes an Emerald, and sometimes a Turquois: it had the haire broided and bound vp with a haire-lace of golde burnished, at the end whereof did hang an eare of golde, with two firebrands of smoake painted therein, which did signifie the prayers of the afflicted and sinners that he heard, when they recommended themselves vnto him. Betwixt the two eares hanged a number of small herons. He had a iewell hanging at his necke, so great that it covered all his stomacke: vpon his armes bracelets of golde; at his navill a rich greene stone: and in his left hand a fanne of pretious feathers, of greene, azure and yellow, which came forth of a looking glasse of golde, shining and well burnished, and that signified, that within this looking glasse hee sawe whatsoever was doone in the world. They called this glasse or chaston of golde *Irlacheaya*, which signifies his glasse for to looke in. In his right hand he held foure dartes, which signified the chastisement hee gave vnto the wicked for their finnes. And therefore they feared this idoll most, lest he should discover their faults and offences. At his feett they had pardon of their finnes, which was made every foure yeares, as shalbe declared heereafter. They

held this idoll *Tescatlipuca* for the god of drought, of famine, barrenness and pestilence: And therefore they paynted him in another forme, being set in great maiesty vpon a steele compassed in with a red curtin, painted & wrought with the heads and bones of dead men. In the left hand it had a target with five pines, like vnto pine apples of cotton: and in the right a little dart with a threatening countenance, and the arme stretcht out, as if he would cast it; and from the target came foure darts. It had the countenance of an angry man, and in choler, the body all painted blacke, and the head full of Quails feathers. They vsed great superstition to this idoll, for the feare they had of it. In *Cholula* which is a commonwealth of *Mexico*, they worshipt a famous idoll which was the god of marchandise: being to this day greatly giuen to trafficke. They called it *Quetzacoatl*.

This idoll was in a great place in a temple very hie: it had about it, golde, silver, jewells, very rich feathers, and habites of diuers colours. It had the forme of a man, but the visage of a little bird, with a red bill, and aboue a combe full of wartes, having ranckes of teeth, and the tongue hanging out. It carried vpon the head, a pointed myter of painted paper, a scythe in the hand, and many toyes of golde on the legges; with a thousand other foolish inventions, whereof all had their significations, and they worshipt it, for that hee enriched whome hee pleased, as *Memnon* and *Plutus*. In trueth this name which the *Choluanos* gave to their God, was very fite, although they vnderstoode it not: they called it *Quetzacoatl*, signifying colour of a rich feather, for such is the diuell of covetousnesse. These barbarous people contented not themselves to have gods onely, but

but they had goddesſes alſo, as the Fables of Poets have brought in, and the blind gentility of the *Greekes* and *Romans* worſhipt them. The chiefe goddeſſe they worſhipt was called *Toxi*, which is to ſay, our grandmother, who as the Hiſtories of *Mexico* report, was daughter to the king of *Culhuacan*, who was the firſt they ſleaved by the commaundement of *Vitzliputzli*, whom they ſacrificed in this ſort, being his ſiſter, and then they beganne to ſleawe men in their ſacrifices, and to clothe the living with the ſkinnes of the ſacrificed, having learned that their gods were pleaſed therewith, as alſo to pul the hearts out of them they ſacrificed, which they learned of their god, who pulled out the hearts of ſuch as he puniſhed in *Tulla*, as ſhall be ſayd in his place. One of theſe goddeſſes they worſhipt had a ſonne, who was a great hunter, whome they of *Tlaſcalla* afterwardeſ tooke for a god, and thoſe were enemies to the *Mexicaines*, by whoſe ayde the *Spaniards* wonne *Mexico*. The province of *Tlaſcalla* is very fit for hunting, and the people are much given therevnto. They therefore made a great feaſt vnto this idoll, whom they painted of ſuch a forme, as it is not now needefull to looſe any time in the deſcription thereof. The feaſt they made was pleaſant, and in this ſort: They ſounded a Trumpet at the breake of day, at the ſound whereof they all aſſembled with their bowes, arrows, netts, and other inſtruments for hunting: then they went in proceſſion with their idoll, being followed by a great number of people to a high mountayne, vpon the toppe whereof they had made a bower of leaves, and in the middeſt thereof an Altare richly deckt, where-vpon they placed the idoll. They marched with a great bruit of Trumpettes, Cornets, Flutes and Drummes, and being come vnto the

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place, they invironed this mountaine on all sides, putting fire to it on all partes : by meanes whereof manie beasts flew forth, as stagges, connies, hares, foxes, and wolues, which went to the toppe flying from the fire. These hunters followed after with great cries and noyse of diuerse instruments, hunting them to the top before the idoll, whither fled such a number of beasts, in so great a prease, that they leaped one vpon another, vpon the people, and vpon the Altare, wherein they tooke great delight. Then tooke they a great number of these beasts, and sacrificed them before the idoll, as stagges and other great beasts, pulling out their hearts, as they vse in the sacrifice of men, and with the like ceremony : which done, they tooke all their prey vpon their shoulders, and retired with their idoll in the same manner as they came, and entered the citty laden with all these things, very ioyfull, with great store of musicke, trumpets, and drummes, vntill they came to the Temple, where they placed their idoll with great reverence and solemnitie. They presently went to prepare their venison, wherewith they made a banquet to all the people, and after dinner they made their playes, representations, and daunces before the idoll. They had a great number of other idolles, of gods and goddesses, but the chiefe were of the Mexicaine Nation, and the neighbour people as is saide.

*Of a strange manner of Idolatry practised amongst
the Mexicaines.* CHAP. 10.

AS wee haue saide that the kings *Inguas* of Peru caused Images to be made to their likeness, which they called their *Guacos* or brothers, causing them for
to

to be honored like themselves : even so the Mexicains have done of their gods , which was in this sorte. They tooke a captive, such as they thought good , and afore they did sacrifice him vnto their idolls ; they gave him the name of the idoll , to whome hee should be sacrificed, and apparelled him with the same ornaments like their idoll, saying, that he did represent the same idoll. And during the time that this representation lasted, which was for a yeere in some feasts, in others sixe moneths , and in others lesse : they revered and worshipped him in the same maner, as the proper idoll, and in the meane time he did eate, drinke, and was merry. When hee went through the streetes, the people came forth to worship him , and every one brought him an almes, with children and sicke folkes, that he might cure them, and blesse them, suffering him to doe all things at his pleasure , onely hee was accompanied with tenne or twelve men lest he should flie. And he (to the end he might be revered as he passed) sometimes sounded vpon a small flute , that the people might prepare to worship him. The feast being come , and hee growne fatte, they killed him, opened him, and eat him, making a solempne sacrifice of him.

In trueth it was a pittifull thing to consider in what sort Sathan held this people in his subiection, and doth many to this day, which commit the like cruelties and abominations, with the losse of the miserable soules and bodies of such as they offer to him, and he laughes and mockes at the follie of these poore miserable creatures , who deserve well, for their offences, to be forsaken of the most high God, to the power of their adversary, whom they have chosen for their god & support. But seeing wee have spoken sufficient of the Indians

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idolatrie: it followes that we treat of their Religion, or rather Superstition, which they vse in their sacrifices, temples, ceremonies, and the rest.

How the Divell hath laboured to make himselfe equall vnto God, and to imitate him in his Sacrifices, Religion, and Sacraments. CHAP. II.

BEfore wee come to this point, we ought to consider one thing, which is worthie of speciall regard, the which is, how the Divell by his pride hath opposed himselfe to God; and that which God by his wisdom hath decreed for his honour and service, and for the good and health of man, the Divell strives to imitate and to pervert, to bee honoured, and to cause man to be damned: for as we see the great God hath Sacrifices, Priests, Sacraments, Religious Prophets, and Ministers, dedicated to his divine service and holy ceremonies, so the Divell hath his sacrifices, priests, his kinds of sacraments, his ministers appointed, his secluded and fained holinesse, with a thousand sortes of false prophets. All which will bee pleasant to vnderstand, being declared in particular, and of no small fruite for him that shall remember, how the Divell is the father of lies, as the truth saith in the Gospel; and therefore hee seekes to vsurpe to himselfe the glorie of God, and to counterfai the light by his darknes. The Sooth-saiers of *Egipt* taught by their master Sathan; laboured to do wonders, like vnto those of *Moses* and *Aron*, to be equall vnto them. We reade in the Booke of *Iudges*, of that *Micas*, Priest of the vaine Idoll, which vsed the same ornaments which were vsed in the Tabernacle of the true God, as the Ephod, the Seraphin,

Iohn. 9.

Exod. 7.

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Seraphin, and other things. There is scarce any thing instituted by Iesus Christ our Saviour in his Lawe of his Gospel, the which the Divell hath not counterfai- ted in some sort, and carried to his Gentiles, as may be seene in reading that which we hold for certaine, by the report of men worthie of credite, of the customes and ceremonies of the Indians, whereof we will treat in this Booke.

Of the Temples that were found at the Indies.

CHAP. 12.

Beginning then with their Temples, even as the great God would have a house dedicated, where his holy name might be honoured, and that it should be particularly vowed to his service; even so the Divel, by his wicked practises, perswaded Infidells to builde him proud Temples, and particular Oratories and Sanctuaries. In every Province of *Peru*, there was one principall *Guaca*, or house of adoration; and besides it, there was one generall throughout all the Kingdome of the *Inguas*; amongst the which there hath beene two famous and notable, the one which they called *Pachamana*, is foure leagues from *Lima*, whereat this day they see the ruines of a most ancient and great building, out of the which *Francis Pizarre* and his people drew infinite treasure, of vessell and pottes of gold and silver, which they brought when they tooke the *Ingua Atagualpa*. There are certaine memories and discourses which say, that in this Temple the Divell did speake visibly, and gave answers by his Oracle, and that sometimes they did see a spotted snake: and it was a thing very common and approved at the *Indies*, that the
Divell

*Plu. lib. de
tract.
Iust. napol. pro
christ.*

Divell spake and answered in these false Sanctuaries deceiving this miserable people. But where the Gospel is entred, and the Crosse of Christ planted, the father of lies is becom mute, as *Plutark* writes of his time, *Cur cessaverit Pithias fondere oracula*: and *Iustine Martir* treats amply of the silence which Christ imposed to divells, which spake by Idolls, as it had been before much prophesied of in the holy Scripture. The maner which the Infidel Ministers & Inchanters had to consult with their gods, was as the Divell had taught them. It was commonly in the night, they entred backward to their idol, & so went bending their bodies & head, after an vglie maner, and so they consulted with him. The answer he made, was commonly like vnto a fearefull hissing, or to a gnashing which did terrifie them, and all that he did advertise or command them, was but the way to their perdition and ruine. There are few of these Oracles found now, through the mercy of God, and great powre of Iesus Christ. There hath beene in *Peru* another Temple and Oratorie, most esteemed, which was in the Cittie of *Cusco*, where at this day is the monasterie of *S. Dominicke*. We may see it hath been a goodly and a stately worke, by the pavement and stones of the building, which remaine to this day. This Temple was like to the *Pantheon* of the Romans, for that it was the house and dwelling of all the gods; for the Kings *Inguas* did there behold the gods of all the Nations and provinces they had conquered, every Idoll having his private place, whither they of that Province came to worship it with an excessive charge of things which they brought for his service. And thereby they supposed to keep safely in obedience, those Provinces which they had conquered, holding their gods, as it were in
hostage

hostage. In this same house was the *Pinchao*, which was an Idoll of the Sunne, of most fine gold, wrought with great riches of stones, the which was placed to the East, with so great Art, as the Sunne at his rising did cast his beames thereon: and as it was of most fine mettall, his beames did reflect with such a brightnes, that it seemed another Sunne. The *Inguas* did worship this for their God, and the *Pachayacha*, which signifies the Creator of heaven. They say, that at the spoile of this so rich a Temple, a souldier had for his part this goodly plate of gold of the Sunne. And as play was then in request, he lost it all in one night at play, whence came the proverb they have in *Pern* for great gamesters, saying, that they play the Sunne before it riseth.

Of the Prowd Temples at Mexico.

CHAP. 13.

THE Superstitions of the Mexicaines, have without comparison beene greater then the rest, as well in their ceremonies, as in the greatnes of their Temples, the which in old time the Spaniards called by this word *Cu*, which word might bee taken from the Ilanders of *S. Dominique*, or of *Cuba*, as many other wordes that are in vse, the which are neyther from *Spaine*, nor from any other language now vsuall among the Indians, as is *Mays*, *Chico*, *Vaquiano*, *Chapeton*, and other like. There was in *Mexico*, this *Cu*, the famous Temple of *Vitziliputzli*, it had a very great circuite, and within a faire Court. It was built of great stones, in fashion of snakes tied one to another, and the circuite was called *Coatepantli*, which is, a circuite of snakes: vpon the toppe of every chamber and oratorie where the Idolls

Idolls were, was a fine piller wruogh twit h small stones, blacke as icate, set in goodly order, the ground raised vpon with white & red, which below gave a great light, vpon the top of the pillar were batlements very artificially made, wrought like snails, supported by two Indians of stone, sitting, holding candlestickes in their hands, the which were like Croisants garnished & enriched at the ends, with yellow and greene feathers and long fringes of the same. Within the circuite of this court, there were many chambers of religious men, and others that were appointed for the service of the Priests and Popes, for so they call the soveraigne Priests which serve the Idoll. This Court is so great and spacious, as eight or ten thousand persons did daunce easily in round, holding hands, the which was an vsuall custome in that Realme, although it seeme to many incredible.

There were foure gates or entries, at the East, West, North, and South; at every one of these gates beganne a faire cawsey of two or three leagues long. There was in the midst of the Lake where the Cittie of *Mexico* is built, foure large cawseies in crosse, which did much beautify it; vpon every portall or entery, was a God or Idoll, having the visage turned to the causey, right against the Temple gate of *Vixtiliputzli*. There were thirtie steppes of thirtie fadome long, and they divided from the circuit of the court by a streete that went betwixt them; vpon the toppe of these steppes there was a walke of thirtie foote broade, all plaisterd with chalke, in the midst of which walke was a Pallisado artificially made of very high trees, planted in order a fadome one from another. These trees were very bigge, and all pierced with small holes from the foote to the

top, and there were rodde did runne from one tree to another, to the which were chained or tied many dead mens heades. Vpon every rod were twentie sculles, and these ranckes of sculles continue from the foote to the toppe of the tree. This Pallissado was full of dead mens sculls from one end to the other, the which was a wonderfull mournefull sight and full of horror. These were the heads of such as had beene sacrificed, for after they were dead, and had eaten the flesh, the head was delivered to the Ministers of the Temple, which tied them in this sort vntill they fell off by mortalls; and then had they a care to set others in their places. Vpon the toppe of the Temple were two stones or chappells, and in them were the two Idolls which I have spoken of, *Vitziliputzli*, and his companion *Tlalotl*. These Chappells were carved and graven very artificially, and so high, that to ascend vp to it, there was a staire of stone of sixscore steppes. Before these Chambers or Chappells, there was a Court of fortie foote square, in the midst whereof, was a high stone of five hand breadth, poyned in fashion of a Pyramide; it was placed there for the sacrificing of men; for being laid on their backes, it made their bodies to bend, and so they did open them and pull out their hearts, as I shall shewe heereafter. There were in the Cittie of *Mexico*, eight or nine other Temples, the which were ioyned one to another within one great circuite, and had their private staires, their courts, their chambers, and their dortoirs. The entries of some were to the East, some to the West, others to the South, and some to the North. All these Temples were curiously wrought, and compassed in with diuers sortes of battlements and pictures, with many figures of stones, being

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ing accompanied and fortified with great and large spurres or platformes. They were dedicated to diuers gods: but next to the Temple of *Vitziliputzli*, was that of *Tescalipuca*, which was the god of penance and of punishments, very high and well built.

There were foure steps to ascend, on the toppe was a flat or table of fixe score foote broad, and ioyning vnto it was a hall hanged with tapistrie and curtins of diuerse colours and works. The doore thereof being low and large, was alwayes covered with a vaile, and none but the priests might enter in. All this Temple was beautified with diuerse images and pictures most curiously, for that these two Temples were as the cathedrall churches, and the rest in respect of them as parishes and hermitages: they were so spacious, and had so many chambers, that there were in them places for the ministerie, colleges, schooles, and houses for priests, whereof wee will intreate heereafter. This may suffice to conceive the diuells pride, and the misery of this wretched nation, who with so great expence of their goods, their labour, and their lives, did thus serue their capitall enemy, who pretended nothing more than the destruction of their soules, and consumption of their bodies. But yet they were well pleased, having an opinion in their so great an error, that they were great and mighty gods, to whome they did these services.

Of the Priestes and their offices.

CHAP. 14.

WE find among all the nations of the world, men specially dedicated to the service of the true God, or to the false, which serue in sacrifices, and declare

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clare vnto the people what their gods command them. Ther was in *Mexico* a strange curiositie vpon this point. And the diuell counterfeiting the vse of the Church of God, hath placed in the order of his Priests, some greater or superiors, and some lesse, the one as Acolites, the other as Levites, & that which hath made me most to woonder, was, that the diuel would vsurpe to himselfe the service of God; yea and vse the same name: for the Mexicaines in their antient tongue called their hie Priests *Papas*, as they should say soveraigne Bishops, as it appeares now by their Histories. The Priests of *Vinliputzli* succeeded by linages of certaine quarters of the City, deputed for that purpose, and those of other idolls came by election, or being offered to the temple in their infancy. The dayly exercise of the Priestes was to cast incense on the idolles, which was doone foure times in the space of a naturall day. The first at breake of day, the second at noone, the third at Sunne setting, and the fourth at midnight. At midnight all the chiefe officers of the Temple did rise, and in steade of bells, they sounded a long time vpon trumpets, cornets and flutes very heavily, which being ended, he that did the office that weeke, stept forth, attyred in a white roabe after the Dalmatike manner, with a censor in his hand full of coales, which he tooke from the harth burning continually before the Altare; in the other hand he had a purse full of incense, which he cast into the censor, and as he entred the place where the idoll was, he incensed it with great reverence, then tooke he a cloth, with the which he wiped the Altar and the curtins. This doone, they went all into a Chappell, and there did a certaine kinde of rigorous and austere penaunce, beating themselves, and drawing of blood, as I shall shew in the treatise

tise of Penance, which the Divell hath taught to his creatures; and heereof they never sayled at these Martins at midnight. None other but the Priestes might entermeddle with their sacrifices, and every one did imploy himselfe according to his dignity and degree. They did likewise preach to the people at some feastes, as I will shew when we treat thereof. They had revenues, and great offerings were made vnto them. I will speake heereafter of their vnction in Consecrating their Priestes. In *Peru* the Priestes were entertained of the revenues and inheritance of their God, which they called *Chacaras*, which were many, and also verie rich.

*Of the monastery of Virgins which the divell hath
invented for his service.*

CHAP. IS.

AS the religious life (wherof many servants of God have made profession in the holy Church, imitating Iesus Christ and his holy Apostles) is very pleasing in the sight of his divine maiesty, by the which his holy Name is so honoured, and his Church beutified: So the father of lies hath laboured to imitate and counterfeit him heerein; yea, as it were hath striven with God in the observance and austere life of his ministers. There were in *Peru* many monasteries of Virgines (for there are no other admitted) at the least one in everie Province. In these monasteries there were two sortes of women, one antient, which they called *Mamacomas*, for the instruction of the yoong; and the other was of yoong maidens, placed there for a certaine time, and after they were drawne forth, either for their gods or
for

for the *Ingua*. They called this house or monastery *Adaguazi*, which is to say, the house of the chosen. Every monastery had his Vicar or Governour called *Appopanaca*, who had liberty and power to choose whome he pleased, of what qualitie soever, being vnder eyght yeares of age, if they seemed to be of a good stature and constitution.

These Virgines thus shut vp into these monasteries, were instructed by the *Momacomas*, in diverse thinges needefull for the life of man; and in the customes and ceremonies of their gods; and afterwarde they tooke them from thence, being above foureteene, sending them to the Court with suregards, whereof some were appoynted to serve the *Guacas* and Sanctuaries, keeping their virginities for ever: some others were for the ordinary sacrifices that were made of maidens, and other extraordinary sacrifices, they made for the health, death, or warres of the *Ingua*; and the rest serued for wives and concubines to the *Ingua*, and vnto other his kinsfolkes and captaines, vnto whome hee gave them, which was a great and honourable recompence: This distribution was vsed every yeare. These monasteries possessed rents and revenues for the maintenaunce of these Virgins, which were in great numbers. It was not lawfull for any father to refuse his daughters when the *Appopanaca* required them for the service of these monasteries. Yea many fathers did willingly offer their daughters, supposing it was a great merit to be sacrificed for the *Ingua*. If any of these *Momacomas* or *Acillas* were found to have trespassed against their honour, it was an inevitable chastisement to bury them alive; or to put them to death by some other kind of cruell torment.

The diuell hath even in *Mexico* had some kind of religious women, although their possession was but for one yeare, and it was in this sorte: Within this great circuit whereof we have spoken, which was in the principall temple, there were two houses like cloysters, the one opposite to the other, one of men, the other of women: In that of women, they were virgines onely, of twelve or thirteene yeares of age, which they called the Maydes of Penauance. They were as many as the men, and lived chastly and regularly, as virgins dedicated to the service of their god. Their charge was, to sweepe and make cleane the temple, and every morning to prepare meate for the idoll and his ministers, of the almes the religious gathered. The foode they prepared for the idoll were small loaves in the forme of handes and feete, as of marchpane: and with this bread they prepared certayne sawses which they cast dayly before the idoll, and his priests did eate it, as those of *Baah*, that *Daniel* speaketh of. These virgins had their haire cutte, and then they let them grow for a certaine time: they rose at midnight to the idolls mattins, which they dayly celebrated, performing the same exercises the religious did. They had their Abesses who imployed them to make cloth of diuerse fashions for the ornament of their idolls and temples. Their ordinary habite was all white, without any worke or colour. They did their penance at midnight, sacrificing and wounding themselves, and piercing the toppe of their eares, they layde the blood which issued forth vpon their cheekes: and after, (to wash off the blood) they bathed themselves in a poole which was within their monastery. They liued very honestly and discreetly, and if any were found to have offended, although but lightly, presently they were

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were put to death without remission, saying, wee had polluted the house of their god. They helde it for an augure and advertisement, that some one of the religious, man, or woman, had committed a fault, when they saw a Ratte or a Mowse passe, or a Bat in the chappell of their idoll, or that they had gnawed any of the vailes, for that they say, a Catte or a Bat would not adventure to committe such an indignity, if some offence had not gone before, and then they beganne to make search of the fact, and having discovered the offender or offenders, of what quality soever, they presently put them to death.

None were receyved into this monastery, but the daughters of one of the fixe quarters, named for that purpose: and this profession continued, as I have sayd, the space of one whole yeare: during the which time, their fathers, and they themselves had made a vowe to serve the idoll in this manner, and from thence they went to be married. These virgins of *Mexico*, especially they of *Pern* had some resemblance to the Vestall Virgins of *Rome*, as the Histories shew, to the end wee may understand how the divell hath desired to be served by them that observe Virginitie, not that chastitie is pleasing unto him, for he is an vncleane spirite, but for the desire he hath to take from the great God, as much as in him lieth, this glory to be served with cleanness and integrity.

Of the Monasteries of religious men that the divell hath invented for superstition. CHAP. 16.

IT is well knowne, by Letters written by the fathers of our company from *Iappon* the number and multi-

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tude of religious men that are in those Provinces, whome they call *Boncos*, and also their superstitions, customes and lies. Some fathers that have been in those countries, report of these *Boncos* and religious men of *China*, saying, that there are many Orders, and of diverse sortes, some came vnto them clad in white, bearing hooes, and others all in blacke, without haire or hooe, and these are commonly little esteemed, for the *Mandarins* or ministers of Iustice whippe them, as they doe the rest of the people. They make profession, not to eate any flesh, fish, nor any thing that hath life, but onely Rice and hearbes; but in secret they do eate any thing, and are worse than the common people. They say the religious men which are at the Court, which is at *Paquin*, are very much esteemed. The *Mandarins* go commonly to recreate themselves at the *Narells* or monasteries of these Monkes, and returne in a manner alwayes drunke. These monasteries commonly are without the townes, and have temples within their close: yet in *China* they are not greatly curious of idollies, or of temples, for the *Mandarins* little esteeme idolls, and do hold it for a vaine thing, and worthy to be laughed at: yea they beleeve there is no other life, nor Paradiſe, but to be in the office of the *Mandarins*, nor any other hel, than the prisons they have for offendours. As for the common sorte, they say, it is necessary to entertayne them with idolatry, as the Philosopher himselfe teacheth his Governors: and in the Scripture it was an excuse which *Aaron* gave, for the idol of the Calf, that he caused to be made; yet the *Chinois* vsed to tarry in the poupe of their shippes, in little chapels, a virgin imboſt set in a chaire with two *Chinois* before her kneeling in maner of Angels, having a light burning there both

*Arist. 12. me-
1 apb.*

Produ 32.

both day and night. And when they are to sette saile, they do many sacrifices and cerenonies, with a great noyse of drummes and bells, casting papers burnt at the poupe.

Comming to our religious men, I doe not knowe that in *Peru* there is any proper houses for men, but for the Priests and Sorcerers, whereof there is an infinite number. But it seemeth, that in *Mexico* the diuel hath set a due observation: for within the circuit of the great temple there were two monasteries, as before hath bin sayd, one of Virgins, whereof I have spoken, the other of yoong men seclused, of eightene or twenty yeares of age, which they called religious. They weare shaved crownes, as the Friars in these partes, their haire alittle longer which fell to the middest of their eares, except the hinder part of the head, which they let growe the breadth of foure fingers downe to their shoulders, and which they tyed vppe in tresses. These yoong men that served in the temple of *Vixliputzli* lived poorely and chastely, and did the office of Levites, ministring to the priests and chiefe of the temple, their incense, lights, & garments; they swept and made cleane the holy places; bringing wood for a continual fire to the harth of their god, which was like a lampe that still burnt before the Altar of their idoll. Besides these yong men, there were other little boyes, as novices, that served for manuall vses, as to deck the temple with boughs, roses, and reeds, give the Priests water to wash with, give them their rasons to sacrifice, and goe with such as begged almes to carry it. All these had their superiors, who had the government over them, they lived so honestly, as when they came in publike, where there were any women, they carried their heads very lowe, with their eyes to

the ground, not daring to beholde them : they had linnen garments, and it was lawfull for them to goe into the Citty foure or fixe together, to aske almes in all quarters: and when they gave them none, it was lawfull to go into the corne fields and gather the eares of corne or clusters of Mays, which they most needed, the Maister not daring to speake, nor hinder them. They had this liberty, because they lived poorely, and had no other revenues, but almes. There might not be above fifty live in penance, rising at midnight to sound the cornets and trumpets to awake the people. Every one watched the idoll in his turne, lest the fire before the Altare should die: they gave the cenfor, with the which the Priest at midnight incensed the idoll, and also in the morning, at noone, and at night. They were very subiect and obedient to their superiors, and passed not any one poynt that was commaunded them. And at midnight after the priest had ended his censuring, they retired themselves into a secret place, apart, sacrificing, & drawing blood, from the calves of their legges with sharpe bodkins: with this blood they rubbed their temples, & vnder their eares: and this sacrifice finished, they presently washt themselves in a little poole appoynted to that end. These yong men did not annoint their heads and bodies with any *Petum*, as the Priestes did: their garments were of a course white linnen cloth they do make there. These exercises and strictnesse of penance continued a whole yeare, during which time they lived with great austeritie and solitarinesse. In truth it is very strange to see that this false opinion of religion hath so great force among these yoong men and maidens of *Mexico*, that they will serve the Divell with so great rigor and austerity, which many of vs doe not in the service

vice of the most high God, the which is a great shame and confusion; for those amongst vs that glory to have doone a small penance, although this exercise of the Mexicaines, was not continuall, but for a yeare onely, which made it the more tollerable.

*Of Penance and the Strictnes the Indians have used
at the Divells perswasion.* CHAP. 17.

Seeing we are come to this point, it shall bee good both to discover the cursed pride of Sathan, and to confound it, and somewhat to quicken our coldnes and sloth in the service of the great GOD: to speake some thing of the rigor and strange penance this miserable people vsed at the Divells perswasion; like to the false Prophets of *Baal*, who did beate and wound themselves with lancets, drawing forth bloud; or like those that sacrificed their sonnes and daughters vnto loathsome *Belphegor*, passing them through the fire, as *Psal. 105.* holy Writ testifieth: for Sathan hath alwayes desired to be served; to the great hurte and spoyle of man. It hath beene said that the priests and religious of *Mexico*, rose at midnight, and having cast incense before the idoll, they retired themselves into a large place, where there were many lights; and sitting downe, every one tooke a poynt of *Manguay*, which is like vnto an awle or sharpe bodkin, with the which, or with some other kindes of launcets or rasors, they pierced the calves of their legges neare to the bone, drawing forth much blood, with the which they annoynted their temples; & dipt these bodkins or lancets in the rest of the blood; then set they them vpon the battlements of the Court, stickt in gloabes or bowles of strawe, that all might see

and know the penance they did for the people: they do wash off the blood in a lake appoynted for that purpose, which they call *Ezapangue*, which is to say, water of blood.

There were in the Temple a great number of bodkins or lancets, for that they might not vse one twice. Moreover, these Priests and Religious men, vsed great fastings, of five or ten daies together, before any of their great feastes, and they were vnto them as our foure ember weekes: they were so strict in continence, that some of them (not to fall into any sensualitie,) slit their members in the midst, and did a thousand thinges to make themselves vnable, lest they should offend their gods. They drunke no wine, and slept little, for that the greatest part of their exercises were by night, committing great cruelties and martiring themselves for the Diuell, and all to bee reputed great fasters and penitents.

They did vse to discipline themselves with cordes full of knottes, and not they onely, but the people also vsed this punishment and whipping, in the procession and feast they made to the idoll *Tezcilipuca*, the which (as I have said before,) is the god of penance; for then they all carried in their hands new cordes of the threed of *Manguy* a fadome long, with a knot at the end, and therewith they whipped themselves, giving great lashes over their shoulders. The Priests did fast five daies together before this feast, eating but once a day, and they lived apart from their wives, not going out of the Temple during those five daies, they did whip themselves rigorously in the maner aforesaid. The Iesuites which have written from the *Indies*, treat amply of the penances and exceeding rigor the *Boncos* vse, all which

which was but counterfeit, and more in shew, then in truth. In *Peru* to solemnize the feast of the *Yta*, which was great; all the people fasted two daies; during the which, they did not accompany with their wives, neither did they eate any meate with salt or garlike, nor drinke *Chica*. They did much vse this kinde of fasting for some sinnes, and did penance, whipping themselves with sharpe stinging netiles, and often they strooke themselves over the shoulders with certaine stones. This blinde Nation, by the perswasion of the Divell, did transport themselves into craggy mountaines, where sometimes they sacrificed themselves, casting themselves downe from some high rocke. All which are but snares and deceites of him that desires nothing more then the losse and ruine of man.

Of the Sacrifices the Indians made to the Divell, and whereof. CHAP. 18.

IT hath beene in the aboundance and diversitie of Offerings and Sacrifices taught vnto the Infidells for their idolatrie, that the enemy of God and man, hath most shewed his subtiltie and wickednes. And as it is a fit thing and proper to religion, to consume the substance of the creatures, for the service and honour of the Creator, the which is by sacrifice: even so the father of lies hath invented the meanes to cause the creatures of God to be offered vnto him, as to the Author and Lord thereof. The first kinde of sacrifices which men vsed, was very simple: for *Caine* offered the fruites of the earth, and *Abell* the best of his cattell, the which likewise *Noe* and *Abraham* did afterwarde, and the other Patriarkes, vntil that this ample ceremony of *Levi* Gen. 15.

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was given by *Moses*, wherein there are so many sortes and differences of sacrifices of divers things, for divers affaires, and with divers ceremonies. In like sort, among some Nations, hee hath beene content to teach them to sacrifice of what they had: but among others hee hath passed farre, giving them a multitude of customes and ceremonies vpon sacrifices, and so many obseruances, as they are wonderfull. And thereby it appeares plainly, that he meanes to contend and equall himselfe to the ancient law, and in many things vsurpe the same ceremonies. Wee may draw all the sacrifices the Infidells vse into three kindes, one of insensible things, another of beasts, and the third of men. They did vse in *Peru* to sacrifice *Coca*, which is an hearb they esteeme much, of *Mays*, which is their wheate, of coloured feathers, and of *Chaquira*, which otherwise they call *Mollo*, of shelles or oysters, and sometime gold and silver, being in figures of little beasts. Also of the fine stuffe of *Cumbi*, of carved and sweete wood, and most commonly tallow burnt. They made these offerings or sacrifices for a prosperous winde, and faire weather, or for their health, and to be delivered from some dangers and mishappes. Of the second kinde, their ordinary sacrifice was of *Cuyes*, which are small beasts like rabbits, the which the Indians eate commonly. And in matters of importance, or when they were rich men, they did offer *Pacos*, or Indian sheepe, bare, or with wooll, observing curiously the numbers, colours, and times. The maner of killing their sacrifices, great or small, which the Indians did vse according to their ancient ceremonies, is the same the Moores vse at this day, the which they call *Alquible*, hanging the beast by the right fore legge, turning his eyes towards the Sun,

speaking

speaking certaine wordes, according to the qualitie of the sacrifice they flew: for if it were of colour, their wordes were directed to *Chuquilla*, and to the Thunder, that they might want no water: if it were white & smoothe, they did offer it to the Sunne with certaine wordes: if it had a fleece, they did likewise offer it him with some others, that he might shine vpon them and favour their generation: If it were a *Guanaco*, which is gray, they directed their sacrifice to *Viracocha*. In *Cusco* they did every yeare kill and sacrifice with this ceremony, a thorne sheepe to the Sunne, and did burne it, clad in a red waste-coate, and when they did burne it, they cast certaine small baskets of *Coca* into the fire, which they call *Vilcaranca*, for which sacrifice, they have both men and beasts appointed which serve to no other vse. They did likewise sacrifice small birdes, although it were not so vsuall in *Peru* as in *Mexico*, where the sacrificing of quailles was very ordinarie. Those of *Peru* did sacrifice the birdes of *Puma*, (for so they call the desert when they should go to the warres, for to weaken the forces of their adversaries *Guacas*. They called these sacrifices *Cuzcovicca*, or *Contevicca*, or *Huallavicca*, or *Sophavicca*, and they did it in this maner: they tooke many kindes of small birdes of the desert, and gathered a great deale of a thornie wood, which they call *Tanlli*, the which being kindled, they gathered together these small birdes. This assembly they called *Quico*, then did they cast them into the fire, about the which the officers of the sacrifice went with certaine round stones carved, whereon were painted many snakes, lions, toades, and tiges, vtering this word, *Vsachum*, which signifies, let the victorie be given vnto vs, with other wordes, whereby they sayed the forces of

of their enemies *Guacas* were confounded. And they drew forth certaine blacke sheepe, which had beene kept close some daies without meate, the which they called *Vraa*, and in killing them they spake these words; As the hearts of these beasts be weakened, so let our enemies be weakned. And if they found in these sheep that a certaine peece of flesh behind the heart were not consumed by fasting and close keeping, they then held it for an ill augure. They brought certaine black dogs, which they call *Appuros*, and slew them, casting them into a plaine, with certaine ceremonies, causing some kinde of men to eate this flesh, the which sacrifices they did, lest the *Ingua* should be hurt by poison: and for this cause they fasted from morning vntill the stars were vp, and then they did glut and defile themselves like to the Moores. This sacrifice was most fit for them to withstand their enemies gods: and although at this day a great part of these customes have ceased, the wars being ended, yet remains there some relikes, by reason of the private or generall quarrels of the *Indians*, or the *Caciques*, or in their Citties. They did likewise offer and sacrifice shelles of the sea, which they call *Mollo*, and they offered them to the fountaines and springs, saying, that these shells were daughters of the sea, the mother of all waters. They gave vnto these shells sundrie names, according to the color, and also they vse them to diuers ends. They vsed them in a maner in all kinde of sacrifices, and yet to this day they put beaten shells in their *Chica*, for a superstition. Finally they thought it convenient to offer sacrifices of every thing they did sow or raise vp. There were Indians appointed to doe these sacrifices to the fountaine, springs, and rivers, which passed through the townes, or by their *Chacras*,
which

which are their farmes, which they did after seede time, that they might not cease running, but alwaies water their groundes. The forcerers did coniure, to know what time the sacrifices should be made, which being ended, they did gather of the contribution of the people, what should be sacrificed and delivered them to such as had the charge of these sacrifices. They made them in the beginning of winter, at such time as the fountaines, springs, and rivers, did increase by the moistures of the weather, which they did attribute to their sacrifices. They did not sacrifice to the fountaines and springs of the desarts. To this day continues the respect they had to fountaines, springs, pooles, brookes, or rivers, which passe by their Citties or *Chacras*, even vnto the fountaines and rivers of the desarts. They have a speciall regard and reverence to the meeting of two rivers, and there they wash themselves for their health, anointing themselves first with the flower of *Mays*, or some other things, adding there vnto diuers ceremonies, the which they do likewise in their bathes.

Of the Sacrifices they made of men.

CHAP. 19.

THe most pittifull disaster of this poore people, is their slavery vnto the Devill, sacrificing men vnto him, which are the Images of God. In many nations they had vsed to kill (to accompany the dead, as hath beene declared) such persons as had been agreeable vnto him, and whome they imagined might best serve him in the other world. Besides this, they vsed in *Peru*, to sacrifice yong children of foure or six yeares old vnto

to tenne : and the greatest parte of these sacrifices were for the affaires that did import the *Ingua*, as in sickenes for his health : and when he went to the warres for victory, or when they gave the wreath to their new *Ingua*, which is the marke of a King, as heere the Scepter and the Crowne be. In this solemnitie they sacrificed the number of two hundred children, from foure to ten yeares of age, which was a cruell and inhumane spectacle. The manner of the sacrifice was to drowne them and bury them with certaine representations and ceremonies : sometimes they cutte off their heads, anointing themselves with the blood from one care to another.

They did likewise sacrifice Virgines, some of them that were brought to the *Ingua* from the monasteries, as hath beene saide. In this case there was a very great and generall abuse : If any *Indian* qualified, or of the common sorte, were sicke, and that the Divine tolde him confidently that he should die, they did then sacrifice his owne sonne to the Sunne, or to *Virachoca*, desiring them to be satisfied with him, and that they would not deprive the father of life. This cruelty is like to that the holy Scripture speakes of, which king *Moab* vsed in sacrificing his first borne sonne vpon the wall, in the sight of all *Israel*, to whome this act seemed so mournfull, as they would not presse him any further, but returned to their houses. The holy Scripture also shewes that the like kinde of sacrifice had beene in vse amongst the barbarous nations of the *Cananeans* and *Iebuseans* and others, whereof the booke of *Wisedome* speakes, *They call it peace to live in so great miseries and vexations as to sacrifice their owne children, or to doe other hidden sacrifices, as to watch whole nights, doing the actes of fooles, and*

so they keepe no cleanness in their life, nor in their marriages, but one through envy takes away the life of another, another takes away his wife and his contentment, and all is in confusion, blood, murder, theft, deceit, corruption, infidelity, seditions, periuries, mutinies, forgetfulness of God, pollution of soules, change of sexes and birth, inconstancie of marriages, and the disorder of adultery and filthinesse. For idolatry is the sincke of all miseries. The Wise man speaketh of these people of whome *David* complaines, that *Psalm. 105.* the people of *Israel* had learned those customes, even to sacrifice their sonnes and daughters to the divell, the which was never pleasing nor agreeable vnto God. For as hee is the Authour of life, and hath made all these things for the commoditie and good of man, so is hee not pleased that men should take the lives one from another; although the Lord did approove and accept the willingness of the faithfull patriarche *Abraham*, yet did hee not consent to the deede, which was, to cut off the head of his sonne: wherein wee see the malice and tyranny of the divell, who would be herein as God, taking pleasure to be worshipt with the effusion of mans blood, procuring by this meanes, the ruine of soule and body together, for the deadly hatred he beareth to man, as his cruell enemy.

of the horrible sacrifices of men which the Mexicaines used. CHAP. 20.

ALTHOUGH they of *Pern* have surpassed the Mexicaines in the slaughter and sacrifice of their children, (for I have not read nor vnderstood that the Mexicaines vsed any such sacrifices) yet they of *Mexico* have exceeded them, yea all the nations of the worlde.

in the great number of men which they had sacrificed, and in the horrible maner thereof. And to the end we may see the great miserie wherein the Divell holdes this blind Nation, I wil relate particularly the custome and inhumane maner which they have observed: First the men they did sacrifice were taken in the warres, neyther did they vse these solemne sacrifices but of Captives: so as it seemes therein they have followed the custome of the Ancients. For as some Authors say, they called the sacrifice *Victima*, for this reason, because it was of a conquered thing: they also called it *Hostia quasi ab hoste*, for that it was an offering made of their enemies, although they have applied this word to all kindes of sacrifices. In truth the *Mexicaines* did not sacrifice any to their idolls, but Captives, and the ordinarie warres they made, was onely to have Captives for their sacrifices: and therefore when they did fight, they laboured to take their enemies alive, and not to kill them, to inioy their sacrifices. And this was the reason which *Moteczuma* gave to the *Marquise du Val*, when he asked of him, why being so mighty, and having conquered so many kingdomes, hee had not subdued the Province of *Tlascalla*, which was so neere: *Moteczuma* answered him, that for two reasons hee had not conquered that Province, although it had beene easie, if he would have vndertaken it: the one was for the exercise of the youth of *Mexico*, lest they should fall into idlenes and delight: the other and the chiefe cause why he had reserved this Province, was, to have Captives for the sacrifices of their gods. The maner they vsed in these sacrifices, was, they assembled within the Palissadoe of dead mens sculles, (as hath beene said,) such as should be sacrificed, vsing a certaine ceremony

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mony at the foot of the palifado, placing a great guard about them. Presently there stept forth a Priest, attyred with a shorte surplise full of tasselles beneath, who came from the top of the temple with an idoll made of paste of wheate & mays mingled with hony, which had the eyes made of the graines of greene glasse, and the teeth of the graines of mays, hee descended the steppes of the temple with all the speede he could, and mounted on a great stone planted vpon a high terrasse in the midst of the court. This stone was called *Quauxicalli*, which is to say, the stone of Eagle, whereon he mounted by a little ladder, which was in the fore part of the terrasse, and descended by an other staire on the other side, still embracing his idoll. Then did he mount to the place where those were that should be sacrificed, shewing this idoll to every one in particular, saying vnto them; this is your god. And having ended his shew, he descended by the other side of the staires, and all such as should die, went in procession vnto the place where they should be sacrificed, where they found the Ministers ready for that office. The ordinary manner of sacrificing was, to open the stomake of him that was sacrificed, and having pulled out his heart halfe alive, they tumbled the man downe the staires of the Temple, which were all imbrewed and defiled with blood: And to make it the more plaine, fixe sacrificers beeing appoynted to this dignitie, came into the place of sacrifice, foure to holde the hands and feete of him that should be sacrificed, the fift to holde his head, and the sixt to open his stomacke, and to pull out the heart of the sacrificed. They called them *Chachalmua*, which in our tong is as much, as the ministers of holy things. It was a high dignitie, and much esteemed amongest

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them, wherein they did inherite and succede as in a fee simple. The minister who had the office to kill, which was the sixt amongest them, was esteemed and honoured as the soveraigne Priest and Bishop, whose name was different, according to the difference of times and solemnities. Their habites were likewise divers when they came forth to the sacrifice, according to the diversitie of times. The name of their chiefe dignitie was *Papa* and *Topilzin*, their habite and robe was a red curtain after the Dalmatike fashion, with tasselles belowe, a crowne of rich feathers, greene, white, and yellow vpon his head, and at his eares like pendants of golde, wherein were set greene stones, and vnder the lip vpon the midst of the beard hee had a peece like vnto a small canon of an azured stone. These sacrificers came with their faces and handes coloured with a shining blacke. The other five had their haire much curled, and tied vp with laces of leather, bound about the midst of the head: vpon their forehead they carried small roundelets of paper painted with diuerse colours, and they were attired in a Dalmatike robe of white, wrought with blacke. With this attire they represented the very figure of the Diuell, so as it did strike feare and terror into all the people, to see them come forth with so horrible a representation. The soveraigne priest carried a great knife in his hand, of a large and sharpe flint: another priest carried a collar of wood wrought in forme of a snake: All six put themselves in order, ioyning to this Pyramidall stone, whereof I have spoken, being directly against the doore of the Chappell of their idoll. This stone was so pointed, as the man which was to be sacrificed, being laid thereon, vpon his backe, did bend in such sort, as letting the knife but fall vpon his stomache

macke; it opened very easily in the midst. When the sacrificers were thus in order, they drew forth such as had beene taken in warre, which were to be sacrificed at that feast, and being accompanied with a guard of men all naked, they caused them to mount vp these large staires in ranke, to the place where the Ministers were prepared: and as every one of them came in their order, the six sacrificers tooke the prisoner, one by one foote; another by the other, and one by one hand, another by the other, casting him on his backe vpon this pointed stone, where the fift of these Ministers put the collar of wood about his necke, and the high priest opened his stomacke with the knife, with a strange dexteritie and nimblenes, pulling out his heart with his hands, the which he shewed smoaking vnto the Sunne, to whom he did offer this heate and fume of the heart, and presently he turned towardes the idoll, and did cast the heart at his face, then did they cast away the body of the sacrificed, tumbling it downe the staires of the Temple, the stone being set so neere the staires, as there were not two foote space betwixt the stone and the first steppe, so as with one spurne with their foote, they cast the body from the toppe to the bottome. In this sort one after one they did sacrifice all those that were appointed. Being thus slaine, and their bodies cast downe, their masters, or such as had taken them, went to take them vp, and carried them away: then having divided them amongst them, they did eate them, celebrating their feast and solemnitie. There were ever forty or fifty at the least thus sacrificed; for that they had men very expert in taking them. The neighbour Nations did the like, imitating the Mexicaines in the customes and ceremonies of the service of their gods.

of another kind of sacrifices of men which the Mexicans used. CHAP. 21.

There was an other kinde of sacrifice which they made in divers feasts, which they called *Racaxipe Yehuzli*, which is as much as the slaing of men. They call it so, for that in some feasts they tooke one or more slaves, as they pleased; and after they had slead him, they with that skinne apparelled a man appoynted to that end. This man went dauncing and leaping thorow all the houses and market places of the cittie, every one being forced to offer something vnto him: and if any one failed, hee would strike him over the face, with a corner of the skinne, defying him with the congealed blood. This invention continued vntill the skinne did stinke: during which time, such as went gathered together much almes, which they imployed in necessary things for the service of their gods. In many of these feasts they made a challenge, betwixt him that did sacrifice, and him that should be sacrificed thus: they tied the slave by one foote to a wheele of stone, giving him a sword and target in his handes to defend himselfe: then presently stept forth hee that sacrificed him, armed with another sword and target: if he that should be sacrificed defends himselfe valiantly against the other, and resisted him, hee then remayned freed from the sacrifice, winning the name of a famous Captaine, and so was reputed: but if hee were vanquished, they then sacrificed him on the stone wherevnto he was tyed. It was an other kinde of sacrifice, whenas they appoynted any slave to be the representation of the idoll, saying that it was his picture:

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they every yeare gave one slave to the Priests, that they might never want the lively image of their idoll. At his fyrst entry into the office, after hee had beene well washed, they attyred him with all the ornaments of the idoll, giving him the same name. Hee was that whole yeare revered and honoured as the idoll it selfe, and had alwayes with him twelve men for his garde, lest hee should fle, with which garde they suffered him to goe freely and where hee would: and if by chaunce he fled, the chiefe of the garde was put in his place to represent the idoll, and after to be sacrificed.

This Indian had the most honourable lodging in all the temple, where he did eate and drinke, and whither all the chiefe Ministers came to serve and honour him, carrying him meate after the manner of great personages. When hee went through the streetes of the citie, hee was well accompanied with noble men, he carried a litle flute in his hand, which sometimes he sounded, to give them knowledge when he passed: Then presently the women came forth with their little children in their armes, which they presented vnto him, saluting him as god. All the rest of the people did the like: at night they put him in a strong prison or cage, lest he should fle, and when the feast came, they sacrificed him, as hath beene sayde. By these and manie other meanes hath the Divell abused and entertained these poore wretches, and such was the multitude of those that had beene sacrificed by this infernall cruelty, as it seems a matter incredible, for they affirme there were some dayes five thousand or more, and that there were above twenty thousand sacrificed in diverse places. The divell to intertaine this murder of men, vsed

a pleasant and strange invention, which was, when it pleased the priests of Sathan they went to their Kings, telling them how their gods died for hunger, and that they should remember them. Presently they prepared themselves, & advertised one another, that their gods required meate, and therefore they should command their people to be ready to goe to the warres, and thus the people assembled, and the companies appoynted went to field, where they mustred their forces, and all their quarrell and fight was to take one another for sacrifice, striving on either side to take what captives they could, so as in these battells they laboured more to take, then to kill, for that all their intention was to take men alive, to give them to their idolls to eate, for after that maner brought they their sacrifice vnto their gods. And wee must vnderstand, that never king was crowned vntill he had subdued some province, from the which hee brought a great number of captives for the sacrifices of their gods, so as it was an infinit thing to see what blood was spilt in the honour of the Diuell.

How the Indians grew weary, and could not endure the cruelty of Sathan. CHAP. 22.

Many of these Barbarians were now wearied and tyred with such an excessive cruelty, in sheading so much blood, and with so tedious a tribute, to be alwayes troubled to get captives, for the feeding of their gods, seeming vnto them a matter supportable, yet left they not to followe and execute their rigorous lawes, for the great awe the ministers of these idols kept them in, and the cunning wherewith they abused this poore people.

people. But inwardly they desired to be freed from so heavy a yoke. And it was a great providence of God; that the first which gave them knowledge of the Lawe of Christ, found them in this disposition: for without doubt it seemed to them a good law, and a good God, to be served in this sorte. Heerevpon a grave religious man in New *Spaine* tolde me, that when he was in that Country hee had demaunded of an auntient Indian, a man of qualitie, for what reason the Indians hadde so soone received the Lawe of Iesus Christ, and left their owne, without making any other prooffe, triall, or dispute thereon, for it seemed they had changed their religion, without any sufficient reason to moove them. The Indian answered him, Beleeve not Father, that we have embraced the Law of Christ so rashly as they say, for I will tell you, that we were already weary and discontented with such things as the idolls commaunded vs, and were determined to leave it, and to take an other Law. But whenas we found that the religion that you preached had no cruelties in it, and that it was fit for vs, & both iust and good, we vnderstood and beleeved that it was the true Law, and so we received it willingly. Which answer of this Indian agrees well with that we read in the first Discourse, that *Fernand Cortez* sent to the Emperour *Charles* the fift, wherein hee reportes, that after he had conquered the citty of *Mexico*, being in *Chyoacan*, there came Ambassadors to him from the province and commonwealth of *Mechoacan*, requiring him to send them his law, and that he would teach them to vnderstand it, because they intended to leave their owne, which seemed not good vnto them, which *Cortez* graunted, and at this day they are the best Indians, and the truest Christians that are in New

Spaine. The Spaniards that saw these cruell sacrifices, resolved with all their power to abolish so detestable and cursed a butchering of men, and the rather, for that in one night before their eies they sawe threescore or threescore and tenne Spaniards sacrificed, which had beene taken in a battell given at the conquest of *Mexico*. and another time they found written with a cole in a chamber in *Texcusco* these wordes; *Heere such a miserable man was prisoner with his companions whom they of Texcusco did sacrifice.*

There happened a very strange thing vpon this subject, and yet true, being reported by men worthie of credite, which was, that the Spaniards beholding these sacrifices, having opened and drawne out the heart of the lustie yong man, and cast him from the toppe of the staires, (as their custome was,) when hee came at the bottome, he said to the Spaniards in his language, Knights, they have slaine me, the which did greatly moove our men to horror and pittie. It is no incredible thing, that having his heart pulled out, hee might speake, seeing that *Galen* reportes that it hath often chanced in the sacrifice of beasts, after the heart hath beene drawne out, and cast vpon the altar, the beasts have breathed, yea, they did bray and cry out alowde, and sometimes did runne. Leaving this question how this might bee in nature, I will follow my purpose, which is, to shew how much these barbarous people did now abhorre this insupportable slaverie they had to that infermall murtherer, and how great the mercy of the Lord hath beene vnto them, imparting his most sweete and agreeable law.

*Galen. lib. 2. de
Hip. & Platon.
lib. 1. cap. 4.*

How the Divell hath laboured to imitate and counterfeit the Sacraments of the holy Church.

CHAP. 25.

THat which is most admirable in the hatred and presumption of Sathan, is, that he hath not onely counterfai'ted in idolatry and sacrifices, but also in certaine ceremonies, our sacraments, which Iesus Christ our Lord hath instituted, and the holy Church doth vse, having especially pretended to imitate, in some sort, the Sacrament of the Communion, which is the most high and divine of all others,) for the great error of Infidells which proceeded in this maner. In the first moneth, which in *Peru* they called *Rayme*, and answereth to our December, they made a most solemne feast, called *Capacrayme*, wherein they made many sacrifices and ceremonies, which continued many daies: during the which, no stranger was suffered to bee at the Court which was in *Cusco*. These daies being past, they then gave libertie to strangers to enter; that they might be partakers of the feastes and sacrifices, ministring to them in this maner. The *Mamacomas* of the Sunne, which were a kinde of Nunnes of the Sunne, made little loaves of the flower of Mays, died and mingled with the bloud of white sheepe, which they did sacrifice that day; then presently they commanded that all strangers should enter, who set themselves in order, and the Priests which were of a certaine linage, discending from *Linquiyupangui*, gave to every one a morcell of these small loaves, saying vnto them, that they gave these peeces, to the end they should be vnited and confederate with the *Ingua*, and that they advised them not to speake nor thinke any ill against the

Ingua,

Ingua, but alwaies to beare him good affection, for that this peece should be a witnesse of their intentions and will, and if they did not as they ought, he would discover them and be against them. They carried these small loaves, in great platters of gold and silver appointed for that vse, & all did receive & eat these peeces, thanking the Sunne infinitely for so great a favour which hee had done them, speaking wordes and making signes of great contentment and devotion: protesting that during their lives; they would neither do nor thinke any thing against the Sunne nor the *Ingua*: and with this condition they received this foode of the Sunne, the which should remaine in their bodies for a witnesse of their fidelitie which they observed to the Sunne and to the *Ingua* their King: This maner of diuinish communicating they likewise vsed in the tenth moneth called *Coyarayme*, which was September, in the solemne feast which they called *Cytua*, doing the like ceremonies. And besides this communion (if it be lawfull to vse this word in so diuinish a matter,) which they imparted to all strangers that came, they did likewise send of these loaves to all their *Guacas*, sanctuaries, or idolls, of the whole Realme, and at one instant they found people of all sides, which came expresly to receive them, to whom they said (in delivering them,) that the Sunne had sent them that, in signe that hee would have them all to worship and honour him, and likewise did sende them in honour of the *Caciques*. Some perhappes will hold this for a fable and a fiction: yet is it most true, that since the *Ingua Yupangi*, (the which is hee that hath made most lawes, customes, and ceremonies, as *Numa* did in *Rome*;) this maner of communion hath continued, vntill that the Gospel of our Lord

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Lord Iesus Christ thrust out all these superstitions, giving them the right foode of life, which vnites their soules to God : whoso would satisfie himselfe more amply, let him reade the relation which the Licentiate Pello did write, *Don Ieronimo de Loaysa* Arch-bishop of the Cittie of *Kings*, where he shall finde this and many other things which he hath discovered and found out by his great dilligence.

In what maner the Divell hath laboured in Mexico to counterfaite the feast of the holy Sacrament and Communion vsed in the holy Church.

CHAP. 24.

IT is a thing more worthy admiration, to heare speak of the Feast and solemnitie of the Communion which the Divell himselfe the Prince of Pride, ordained in *Mexico*, the which (although it bee somewhat long,) yet shall it not be from the purpose to relate, as it is written by men of credite. The *Mexicaines* in the moneth of Maie, made their principall feast to their god *Vixiliputzli*, and two daies before this feast, the Virgins whereof I have spoken, (the which were shut vp and seclused in the same Temple, and were as it were religious women,) did mingle a quantitie of the seede of beetes with roasted Mays, and then they did mould it with honie, making an idoll of that paste, in bignesse like to that of wood, putting insteede of eyes, graines of greene glasse, of blue, or white, and for teeth, graines of Mays, set forth with all the ornament and furniture that I have said. This being finished, all the Noblemen came and brought it an exquisite and rich garment, like vnto that of the idol, wherewith they did attyre

attyre it. Being thus clad and deckt, they did set it in an azured chaire, and in a litter to carry it on their shoulders. The morning of this feast being come, an houre before day, all the maidens came forth attired in white, with new ornaments, the which that day were called the Sisters of their god *Vitzliputzli*, they came crowned with garlands of Mays roasted and parched, being like vnto azahar or the flower of orange, and about their neckes they had great chaines of the same, which went bauldricke-wise vnder their left arme. Their cheekes were died with vermillion, their armes from the elbow to the wrist, were covered with red parrots feathers. And thus attyred, they tooke the idoll one their shoulders, carrying it into the Court, where all the yong men were, attyred in garments of an artificiall red, crowned after the same maner, like vnto the women. Whenas the maidens came forth with the idoll, the yong men drew neer with much reverence, taking the litter wherein the idoll was, vpon their shoulders, carrying it to the foote of the staires of the Temple, where al the people did humble themselves, laying earth vpon their heads, which was an ordinarie ceremonie which they did observe at the chiefe feast of their gods. This ceremony being ended, all the people went in procession with all the diligence and speede they could, going to a mountain which was a league from the city of Mexico, called *Chapultepec*, & there they made sacrifices. Presently they went from thence with like diligence, to go to a place neere vnto it, which they called, *Atilacuyavaya*, where they made their second station: and from thence they went to another Burgh or Village a league beyond *Cuyoacan*, from whence they parted, returning to the Citie of Mexico, not making any other station.

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station. They went in this sort above foure leagues in three or foure houres, calling this procession, *Tpayna Vitzliputzli*. Being come to the foote of the staires, they set downe the brancard or litter with the idoll, tying great cordes to the armes of the brancarde, then with great observance and reverence, they did drawe vp the litter with the idoll in it to the top of the Temple, some drawing above, and others helping belowe, in the meane time there was a great noise of fluites, trumpets, cornets, and drummes. They did mount in this manner, for that the staires of the Temple were very steepe and narrow, so as they could not carry vp the litter vpon their shoulders, while they mounted vp the idoll, all the people stood in the Court with much reverence and feare. Being mounted to the top, and that they had placed it in a little lodge of roses, which they held readie, presently came the yong men, which strawed many flowers of sundrie kindes, where with they filled the temple both within and without. This done, all the Virgins came out of their convent, bringing peeces of paste compounded of beetes, and rosted Mays, which was of the same paste whereof their idoll was made and compounded, and they were of the fashion of great bones. They delivered them to the yong men, who carried them vp and laide them vp and laide them at the idolls feete, wherewith they filled the whole place, that it could receive no more. They called these morcelles of paste, the flesh and bones of *Vitzliputzli*. Having layed abroad these bones, presently came all the Ancients of the Temple, Priests, Levites, and all the rest of the Ministers, according to their dignities and antiquities, (for heerein there was a strict order amongst them, one after another, with their

their vailles of diuerſe colours and workes, every one according to his dignity and office, having garlands vpon their heads; and chaines of flowers about their neckes: after them came their gods and goddeſſes whom they worſhipt of diuerſe figures, attired in the ſame livery, then putting themſelves in order about thoſe morſells & peeces of paſte; they vſed certaine ceremonics with ſinging and dauncing. By meanes whereof they were bleſſed and conſecrated for the fleſh and bones of this idoll.

This ceremony and bleſſing (whereby they were taken for the fleſh and bones of the idoll) being ended; they honoured thoſe peeces in the ſame ſorte as their god. Then came forth the ſacrificers; who beganne the ſacrifice of men, in the manner as hath bene ſpoken; and that day they did ſacrifice a greater number than at any other time, for that it was the moſt ſolemne feaſt they obſerved. The ſacrifices being ended, all the yong men and maides came out of the temple attired as before, and being placed in order and ranke one directly againſt another, they daunced by drummes the which ſounded in praiſe of the feaſt, and of the idoll which they did celebrate. To which ſong all the moſt ancient and greateſt noble men did answer, dauncing about them; making a great circle as their uſe is, the yong men and maides remayning alwayes in the middleſt. All the citty came to this goodly ſpectacle; and there was a commaundement very ſtrictly obſerved throughout all the land; that the day of the feaſt of the idoll *Vitziliputzli*, they ſhould eate no other meate, but this paſte with hony, whereof the idoll was made: And this ſhould be eaten at the point of day; & they ſhould drinke no water nor any other thing till after noone.

they held it for an ill signe, yea for sacrilege, to doe the contrary: but after the ceremonies ended, it was lawfull for them to eate any thing. During the time of this ceremony, they hid the water from their little children, admonishing all such as had the vse of reason, not to drinke any water; which if they did, the anger of God would come vpon them, and they should die, which they did observe very carefully and strictly. The ceremonies, dancing, and sacrifice ended, they went to vnclothe themselves, and the priests and superiors of the temple tooke the idoll of paste, which they spoyled of all the ornaments it had, and made many peeces, as well of the idoll it selfe as of the tronchons which were consecrated, and then they gave them to the communion, beginning with the greater, and continuing vnto the rest, both men, women, and little children, who received it with such teares, feare, and reverence; as it was an admirable thing, saying that they did eate the flesh and bones of God, wherewith they were grieved. Such as had any sicke folkes demaunded thereof for them, and carried it with great reverence and veneration.

All such as did communicate, were bound to give the tenth of this seede, whereof the idoll was made. The solemnitie of the idoll being ended; an olde man of great authoritie stepped vp into a high place, and with a lowde voice preached their lawe and ceremonies. Who would not wonder to see the diuell so curious to seeke to be worshipped and reverenced in the same manner that Iesus Christ our God hath appoynted and also taught, and as the holy Church hath accustomed? Hereby it is plainly verified what was propounded in the beginning, that Sathan strives (all he can) to vsurp and

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and challenge vnto himselfe the honor and service that is due to God alone, although he dooth still intermixe with it his cruelties and filthinesse, being the spirite of murder and vncleanenesse, and the father of lies,

Of Confessors and Confession which the Indians

used. CHAP. 25.

THE father of lies would likewise counterfeit the sacrament of Confession, and in his idolatries seeke to be honored with ceremonies very like to the manner of Christians. In *Peru* they held opinion, that all diseases and adversities came for the sinnes which they had committed: for remedy whereof they vsed sacrifices: moreover they confessed themselves verbally, almost in all provinces, and had Confessors appoynted by their superiors to that end, there were some sinnes reserved for the superiors. They received penance, yea sometimes very sharply, especially when the offender was a poore man, and had nothing to give his Confessour. This office of Confessor was likewise exercised by women. The manner of these confessors sorcerers whom they call *Tchuri* or *Tchuri*, hath beene most generall in the provinces of *Collasuyo*. They holde opinion, that it is a heinous sinne to conceale any thing in confession. The *Tchuri* or confessors discovered by lottes, or by the view of some beast hides, if any thing were concealed, and punished them with many blowes, with a stone vpon the shoulders, vntill they had revealed all, then after they gave him penance, and did sacrifice. They doe likewise vse this confession, when their children, wives, husbands, or their *Caciques* be sicke, or in any great exploit. And when their *Inqua* was sicke, all

the

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the provinces confessed themselves, chiefly those of the province of *Collao*. The Confessors were bound to hold their confessions secret, but in certaine cases limited. The sinnes that they chiefly confessed, was first to kill one another out of warre, then to steale, to take another mans wife, to give poison or sorcery to doe any harme: and they helde it to be a grievous sinne, to be forgetfull in the reverence of their *Guacas*, or Oratories, not to observe the feasts, or to speake ill of the *Ingua*, and to disobey him. They accused not themselves of any secret actes and sinnes. But according to the report of some Priests, after the christians came into that Countrey, they accused themselves of their thoughts. The *Ingua* confessed himselfe to no man, but onely to the Sunne, that hee might tell them to *Virachoca*, and that he might forgive them. After the *Ingua* had been confessed, hee made a certaine bath to cleanse himselfe in a running river, saying these words: I have told my sinnes to the Sunne, receive them, O thou River, and carry them to the sea, where they may never appeare more. Others that confessed, vsed likewise these baths, with certaine ceremonies very like to those the Moores vse at this day, which they call *Guadoy*, and the Indians call them *Opacuna*. When it chaunced that any mans children died, he was held for a great sinner, saying that it was for his sinnes that the sonne died before the father. And therefore those to whom this had chanced, after they were confessed, they were bath'd in this bath called *Opacuna*, as is saide before. Then some deformed Indian, crookebackt, and counterfet by nature, came to whippe them with certaine nerules. If the Sorcerers or Inchaunters by their lots and divinations affirmed that any sicke body should die, the sicke man makes no dif-

ficulty to kill his owne sonne, though he had no other, hoping by that meanes to escape death, saying that in his place he offered his sonne in sacrifice. And this cruelty hath beene practised in some places, even since the Christians came into that countrey. In trueth it is strange, that this custome of confessing their secret sinnes, hath continued so long amongst them, and to doe so strict penances, as, to fast, to give apparell, gold and silver, to remaine in the mountaines, and to receive many stripes vpon the shoulders. Our men say, that in the province of *Chiquito*, even at this day they meete with this plague of Confessors or *Ychuris*, whereas many sicke persons repaire vnto them: but now, by the grace of God, this people beginnes to see cleerely the effect and great benefite of our confession, wherevnto they come with great devotion. And partly this former custome hath beene suffered by the providence of the Lord, that confession might not seeme tedious vnto them.

By this meanes the Lord is wholly glorified, and the Divell (who is a deceiver) deceived. And for that it concerneth this matter, I will reporte the manner of a strange confession the Divell hath invented at *Iappon*, as appears by a letter that came from thence, which saith thus: There are in *Ocaca* very great and high and stiepe rockes, which have prickes or poynts on them, above two hundred fadome high. Amongest these rockes there is one of these pikes, or poyntes so terribly high, that when the *Xamabusis* (which be pilgrimes) doe but looke vp vnto it, they tremble, and their haire stares, so fearefull and horrible is the place. Vpon the toppe of this poynt there is a great rod of yron of three fadome long, placed there by a strange devise, at the end of this

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rodde is a ballance tied, whereof the scales are so bigge, as a man may sit in one of them : and the *Goquis* (which be divells in humane shape) commaund these pilgrims to enter therein one after another, not leaving one of them : then with an engine or instrument which mooveth, by meanes of a wheele, they make this rodde of yron whereon the ballance is hanged, to hang in the aire, one of these *Xamabusis* being set in one of the scales of the ballaunce. And as that wherein the man is sette hath no counterpoise on the other side, it presently hangeth downe, and the other riseth vntill it meetes with and toucheth the rodde : then the *Goquis* telleth them from the rocke, that they must confesse themselves of all the sinnes they have committed, to their remembrance, and that with a lowde voyce, to th'end that all the rest may heare him. Then presently hee be- ginneth to confesse, whilest some of the standers by do laugh at the sinnes they doe heare; and others sigh, and at every sinne they confesse, the other scale of the bal- lance falles alittle, vntill that having tolde all his sinnes, it remaines equall with the other, wherein the sorrow- full penitent sits: then the *Goquis* turnes the wheele, and drawes the rodde and ballance vnto him, and the Pil- grime comes foorth, then enters another, vntill all have passed. A Iapponois reported this after hee was christ- ned, saying that he had beene in this pilgrimage, and entred the ballance seaven times, where he had confes- sed himselfe publikely. He saide moreover, that if anie one did conceale any sinne, the empty scale yeelded not: and if hee grew obstinate after instance made to confesse himselfe, refusing to open all his sinnes, the *Go- quis* cast him downe from the toppe, where in an in- stant he is broken into a thousand peeces. Yet this chri-

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stian, who was called *Iohn* tolde vs, that commonly the feare and terrour of this place is so great to all such as enter therein, and the danger they see with their eies, to fall out of the ballance, and to be broken in peeces, that seldome there is any one but discovers all his sins. This place is called by another name *Sangenotocoro*, that is to say, the place of Confession: wee see plainly by this discourse, how the Divell hath pretended to vsurp vnto himselfe the service of God, making confession of sinnes (which the Lord hath appoynted for the remedy of man) a divellish superstition, to their great losse and perdition. He hath doone no lesse to the Heathen of *Iappen*, than to those of the provinces of *Collao* in *Peru*.

Of the abhominable vnction which the Mexicaine priestes and other Nations vsed, and of their witchcraftes.

CHAP. 26.

God appoynted in the auntient Lawe the manner how they should consecrate *Aarons* person, and the other Priests, and in the Lawe of the Gospel, wee have likewise the holy creame and vnction which they vse when they consecrate the Priests of Christ. There was likewise in the auntient Lawe a sweete composition, which God defend should be employed in anie other thing then in the divine service. The Divel hath sought to counterfet all these things after his manner, as hee hath accustomed, having to this end invented things so fowle and filthie, whereby they discover wel who is the Author. The priests of the idolles in *Mexico* were annoynted in this sort, they annointed the body from the foote to the head, and all the haire likewise,

which

which hung like tresses, or a horse mane; for that they applied this vnction wet and moyst. Their haire grew so, as in time it hung downe to their hammes, so heauily; that it was troublesome for them to beare it; for they did never cut it, vntill they died, or that they were dispensed with for their great age, or being employed in governments or some honorable charge in the commonwealth. They carried their haire in tresses, of five fingers breadth, which they died blacke with the fume of sapine, or firre trees, or rosine; for in all Antiquitie it hath bin an offering they made vnto their idolls, and for this cause it was much esteemed and revered. They were alwayes died with this tincture from the foote to the head, so as they were like vnto shining Negroes, and that was their ordinary vnction: yet whenas they went to sacrifice and give incense in the mountaines, or on the tops thereof, or in any darke and obscure caves, where their idolles were, they vsed an other kinde of vnction very different, doing certaine ceremonies to take away feare, and to give them courage. This vnction was made with diuerse little venomous beastes, as spiders, scorpions, palmers, salamanders and vipers, the which the boyes in the Colledges tooke and gathered together, wherein they were so expert, as they were alwayes furnished when the Priestes called for them. The chiefe care of these boyes was, to hunt after these beastes; if they went any other way, and by chaunce met with any of these beastes, they stayed to take them, with as great paine, as if their lives depended thereon. By the reason whereof the Indians commonly feared not these venomous beastes, making no more accompt than if they were not so, having beene all bred in this exercise. To make an ointment of these beastes, they

took them all together, and burnt them vpon the hARTH of the Temple, which was before the Altare, vntill they were consumed to ashes: then did they put them in morters with much Tobacco or *Petum* (being an hearbe that Nation vseth much, to benumme the flesh, that they may not feele their travell) with the which they mingle the ashes, making them loose their force; they did likewise mingle with these ashes, scorpions, spiders and palmers alive, mingling all together, then did they put to it a certaine seede being grownd, which they call *Ololuchqui*, whereof the Indians make a drinke to see visions, for that the vertue of this hearbe is to deprive man of sence. They did likewise grinde with these ashes blacke and hairie wormes, whose haire only is venomous, all which they mingled together with blacke, or the fume of rosine, putting it in small pots, which they set before their god, saying it was his meate. And therefore they called it a divine meate. By means of this oyntment they became witches, and did see and speake with the Divell. The priestes beeing slubbered with this oyntment, lost all feare, putting on a spirit of cruelty. By reason whereof they did very boldely kill men in their sacrifices, going all alone in the night to the mountaines, and into obscure caves, contemning all wilde beasts, and holding it for certayne and approved, that both lions, tigres, serpents, and other furious beasts which breede in the mountaines, and forrests, fledde from them, by the vertue of this *Petum* of their god.

And in trueth though this *Petum* had no power to make them flie, yet was the Divelles picture sufficient whereinto they were transformed. This *Petum* did also serve to cure the sicke, and for children; and therefore

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all called it the Divine Physicke: and so they came from all partes to the superiours and priests, as to their saviors, that they might apply this divine physicke, wherewith they anoynted those parts that were grieved. They said that they felt heereby a notable ease, which might be, for that Tobacco and *Ololuchqui* have this propertie of themselves, to benumme the flesh, being applied in manner of an emplaister, which must be by a stronger reason being mingled with poysons, and for that it did appease and benumme the paine, they helde it for an effect of health, and a divine virtue. And therefore ranne they to these priests as to holy men, who kept the blind and ignorant in this error, perswading them what they pleased, and making them runne after their inventions and divellish ceremonies, their authority being such, as their wordes were sufficient to induce beliefe as an article of their faith. And thus made they a thousand superstitions among the vulgar people, in their maner of offering incense, in cutting their haire, tying small flowers about their necks, and strings with small bones of snakes, commaunding them to bathe at a certaine time, and that they should watch all night at the harth, lest the fire should die, that they should eate no other bread but that which had bin offered to their gods, that they should vpon any occasion repaire vnto their witches, who with certaine graines tolde fortunes, and divined, looking into keelers and pailles full of water. The forcerers and ministers of the divell vsed much to besmere themselves. There were an infinite number of these witches, divines, enchanters, and other false prophets. There remaines yet at this day of this infection, althogh they be secret, not daring publikely to exercise their sacrileges, divellish ceremonies & superstitions, but their

abuses and wickednes are discovered more at large and particularly in the confessions made by the Prelates of *Peru*.

There is a kinde of forcerers amongst the Indians allowed by the Kings *Inguas*, which are as it were sooth-saiers, they take vpon them what forme and figure they please, flying farre through the aire in a short time, beholding all that was done. They talke with the Diuell, who answereth them in certaine stones or other things which they reverence much. They serve as coniturers, to tell what hath passed in the farthest partes, before any newes can come. As it hath chanced since the Spaniardes arrived there, that in the distance of two or three hundred leagues, they have knowne the mutinies, battailles, rebellions, and deaths, both of tyrants, and of those of the Kings partie, and of private men, the which have beene knowne the same day they chanced, or the day after, a thing impossible by the course of nature. To worke this divination, they shut themselves into a house, & became drunk vntil they lost their senses, a day after they answered to that which was demanded. Some affirme they vse certaine vnctions The Indians say, that the old women do commonly vse this office of witch-craft, & specially those of one Province, which they call *Coaillo*, and of another towne called *Manchey*, and of the Province of *Guarochiri*. They likewise shew what is become of things stolne and lost. There are of these kindes of Sorcerers in all partes, to whom commonly doe come the *Anacondas*, and *Cyza*, which serve the Spaniardes, and when they have lost any thing of their masters, or when they desire to know the successe of things past or to come, as when they goe to the Spaniardes citties for their pri-
vate

vate affaires, or for the publike, they demanda if their voyage shall be prosperous, if they shall be sicke, if they shall die, or returne safe, if they shall obtaine that which they pretend: and the witches or coniurers answer, yea, or no, having first spoken with the Divell, in an obscure place: so as these *Anacondas* do well heare the sound of the voyce, but they see not to whom these coniurers speake, neither do they vnderstand what they say: They make a thousand ceremonies and sacrifices to this effect, with the which they mocke the Divell and grow exceeding drunke, for the doing whereof, they particularly vse an hearbe called *Villea*, the iuyce whereof they mingle with their *Chica*, or take it in some other sort, whereby we may see how miserable they are, that have for their masters, the ministers of him whose office is to deceive. It is manifest that nothing doth so much let the Indians from receiving the faith of the holy Gospel, and to persever therein, as the conference with these witches, whereof there have bin, and are still, great numbers; although by the grace of the Lord, and diligence of the Prelates and Priestes, they decrease, and are not so hurtfull. Some of them have beene converted and preached publikely, discovering and blaming themselves, their errors and deceites, and manifesting their devises and lies, whereof wee have seene great effects: as also we vnderstand by letters from *Iappon*, that the like hath arrived in those parts: all to the glory and honour of our Lord God.

Of other Ceremonies and Customes of the Indians, which are like unto ours. CHAP. 27.

THE Indians had an infinite number of other ceremonies and customes, which resembled to the
ancient

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ancient law of *Moses*, and some to those which the Moores vse, and some approached neere to the law of the Gospel, as their bathes or *Opacuna*, as they call them: they did wash themselves in water, to cleanse them from their sins. The *Mexicaines* had also amongst them a kinde of baptisme, the which they did with ceremony, cutting the eares and members of yong children new borne, counterfainting in some sort the circumcision of the Iewes. This ceremony was done principally to the sonnes of Kings and Noblemen: presently vpon their birth the priestes did wash them, and did put a little sword in the right hand, and in the left a target. And to the children of the vulgar sort, they put the markes of their offices, and to their daughters instruments to spinne, knit, and labour. This ceremony continued foure daies, being made before some idoll. They contracted mariage after their maner, whereof the Licentiate *Pollo* hath written a whole Treatise, and I will speake somewhat thereon heereafter. In other things their customes and ceremonies have some shew of reason. The *Mexicaines* were married by the handes of their priestes in this sort. The Bridegroom and the Bride stood together before the priest, who tooke them by the hands asking them if they would marrie, then having vnderstoode their willes, hee tooke a corner of the vaile wherewith the woman had her head covered, and a corner of the mans gowne the which he tied together on a knot, and so led them thus tied to the Bridegroomes house, where there was a harth kindled, and then he caused the wife to go seven times about the harth, and so the married couple sate downe together, and thus was the mariage contracted. The *Mexicaines* were very iealous of the integritie of their

wives:

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wives : so as if they found they were not as they ought to be, (the which they knew eyther by signes or dishonest wordes,) they presently gave notice thereof to their fathers and kinsfolkes of their wives, to their great shame and dishonor, for that they had not kept good garde over them. But they did much honour and respect such as lived chastely, making them great banquettes, and giving great presentes both to her and to her kinsfolkes. For this occasion they made great offerings to their gods, and a solemne banquet in the house of the wife, and another in the husbands. When they went to house they made an inventory of all the man and wife brought together, of provisions for the house, of land, of iewells and ornaments, which inventories every father kept, for if it chanced they made any devorce, (as it was common amongst them when they agree not,) they divided their goods according to the portion that every one brought, every one having libertie in such a case, to marry whome they pleased : and they gave the daughters to the wife, and the sonnes to the husband. It was defended vpon paine of death, not to marry againe together, the which they observed very strictly. And although it seeme that many of their ceremonies agree with ours, yet differ they much for the great abomination they mingle therewithall. It is common and generall to have vsually one of these three things, either cruelty, filthines, or slouth : for all their ceremonies were cruell and hurtfull, as to kill men and to spill blood, are filthy and beastly, as to eate and drinke to the name of their Idolls, and also to pisse in the honour of them, carrying them vpon their shoulders, to annoint and besmeere themselves filthily, and to do a thousand sortes of villainies,

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lanies, which were at the least, vaine, ridiculous, and idle, and more like the actions of children, then of men. The cause thereof is the very condition of this wicked spirit, whose intention is alwaies to do ill, provoking men still to murders and filthines, or at the least to vanities and fruitelesse actions, the which every man may well know, if he duly consider the behaviour and actions of the Divell, towards those he sets to deceive. For in all his illusions we finde a mixture of these three, or at least of one of them. The Indians themselves (since they came to the knowledge of our faith,) laugh and mocke at these fooleries and toyes, in the which their gods held them busied, whom they served more for feare, lest they should hurte them, in not obeying them in all things, then for any love they bare them. Although some, yea, very many lived, abused and deceived, with the vaine hope of temporall goods, for of the eternall they had no knowledge. And whereas the temporall power was greatest, there superstition hath most increased, as we see in the Realmes of *Mexico* and *Cusco*, where it is incredible to see the number of idolls they had: for within the city of *Mexico* there were above three hundred *Mango Inqua Yupangui*, amongst the Kings of *Cusco*, was hee that most augmented the service of their idolls, inventing a thousand kindes of sacrifices, feasts, and ceremonies. The like did King *Iscalt* in *Mexico*, who was the fourth king. There was also a great number of superstitions and sacrifices in other Nations of the *Indians*, as in the Province of *Guatemala*, at the Ilands in the new Kingdome, in the Province of *Chille*, and others that were like Commonwealthes and Comminalties. But it was nothing in respect of *Mexico*, and *Cusco*, where Sathan was as in *Rome*,

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or in his *Ierusalem*, vntill he was cast out against his will, and the holy Crosse planted in his place, and the Kingdome of Christ our God occupied, the which the tyrant did vsurpe.

*Of some Feast celebrated by them of Cusco, and how the
Diuell would imitate the mysterie of the holy
Trinitie. CHAP. 28.*

TO conclude that which concerne Religion, there restes something to speake of the feasts and solemnities which the Indians did celebrate, the which (for that they are diuers and many) cannot be all specified. The *Ingnas* Lords of *Pern*, had two kindes of feasts, some were ordinarie, which fell out in certaine moneths, of the yeere: and others extraordinary, which were for certaine causes of importance, as when they did crowne a new King, when they beganne some warre of importance, when they had any great neede of water or drought, or other like things. For the ordinarie feasts, we must vnderstand, that every moneth of the yeare they made feasts, and diuers sacrifices, and although all of them had this alike, that they offered a hundred sheepe, yet in colour, and in forme, they are very diuers. In the first moneth which they call *Rayme*, which is the moneth of December, they made their first feast, which was the principall of all others, and for that cause they called it *Capacrayme*, which is to say, a rich and principall feast. In this feast they offered a great number of sheepe and lambs in sacrifice, and they burnt them with sweete wood, then they caused gold and silver to be brought vpon certaine sheepe, setting vpon them three Images of the Sun, and three of the
thunder,

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thunder, the father, the sonne, and the brother. In these feasts they dedicated the *Inguas* children, putting the *Guaras* or ensignes vpon them, and they pierced their eares: then some olde man did whip them with slings, and annoynted their faces with blood, all in signe that they should be true Knights to the *Ingua*. No stranger might remaine in *Cusco* during this moneth, and this feast, but at the end thereof they entred, and they gave vnto them peeces of the paste of mays with the blood of the sacrifice, which they did eate in signe of confection with the *Ingua*, as hath bin said before. It is strange that the Divell after his manner hath brought a trinitie into idolatry, for the three images of the Sunne called *Apomti*, *Churunti*, and *Intiquaoqui* which signifieth father and lord Sunne, the sonne Sunne, and the brother Sunne. In the like maner they named the three Images of *Chuquilla*, which is the God that rules in the region of the aire, where it thunders, raines and snows. I remember, that being in *Cuquisaca*, an honourable priest shewed me an information, which I had long in my handes, where it was prooved that there was a certaine *Guaca* or Oratory; whereas the Indians did worship an idoll called *Tangatanga*, which they saide was one in three, and three in one. And as this Priest stood amazed thereat, I saide that the Divell by his infernall and obstinate pride (whereby he alwayes pretends to make himselfe God,) did steale all that he could from the trueth, to imploy it in his lyings and deccits. Coming then to the feast of the second moneth, which they called *Camey*, besides the sacrifices which they made, they did cast the ashes into the river, following five or sixe leagues after, praying it to carry them into the sea, for that the *Virochoca* should there receive this present.

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present. In the third, fourth and fift moneth, they offered a hundred blacke sheepe, speckled, and grey, with many other things, which I omitte for being too tedious. The sixt moneth is called *Hatuncuxqui Aymorey*, which answereth to Maie, in the which they sacrificed a hundred sheepe more, of all colours: in this moone and moneth, which is when they bring Maie from the fieldes into the house, they made a feast; which is yet very vsuall among the Indians; and they doe call it *Aymorey*.

This feast is made comming from the *Chacra* or farme vnto the house, saying certaine songs, and praying that the Mays may long continue, the which they call *Mamacora*. They take a certaine portion of the most fruitefull of the Mays that growes in their farmes, the which they put in a certaine grenier which they doe call *Pirua*, with certaine ceremonies, watching three nightes: they put this Mays in the richest garments they have, and beeing thus wrapped and dressed, they worship this *Pirua*, and hold it in great veneration, saying it is the mother of the mays of their inheritances, and that by this means the mays augments & is preserved. In this moneth they make a particular sacrifice, and the witches demaund of this *Pirua*, if it hath strength sufficient to continue vntill the next yeare: and if it answers no, then they carry this Mays to the farme to burne, whence they brought it, according to every mans power; then make they another *Pirua*, with the same ceremonies, saying, that they renue it, to the end the feede of Mays may not perish, and if it answers that it hath force sufficient to last longer, they leave it vntill the next yeare. This foolish vanitie continueth to this day, and it is very common amongst the Indians to have

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have these *Piruas*, & to make the feast of *Aymorey*. The seventh moneth answereth to Iune, and is called *Aucaycuzqui Intiraymi*, in it they made the feast that is called *Intiraymi*, in the which they sacrificed a hundred sheepe called *Guanacos*, and saide it was the feast of the Sunne. In this moneth they made many Images of *Quinna* wood carved, all attired with rich garmentes, and they made their dancings which they do call *Cayo*. At this feast they cast flowers in the high wayes, and thither the Indians came painted, and their noblemen had small plates of golde vpon their beards, and all did sing; wee must vnderstand that this feast falleth almost at the same time, whenas the Christians obserue the solemnitie of the holy Sacrament, which doth resemble it in some sort, as in dauncing, singing and representations. And for this cause there hath beene, and is yet among the Indians, which celebrated a feast somewhat like to ours of the holy Sacrament) many superstitions in celebrating this ancient feast of *Intiraymi*. The eighth month is called *Chahua Huarqui*, in the which they did burne a hundred sheepe more, all grey, of the colour of *Viscacha*, according to the former order, which month doth answer to our Iuly. The ninth moneth was called *Tapaguis*, in the which they burnt an hundred sheepe more, of a chesnut colour; and they do likewise kill and burne a thousand *Cuyes*, to the end the frost, the ayre, the water, nor the sunne should not hurt their farmes: and this moneth doth answer vnto August. The tenth moneth was called *Coyarami*, in the which they burnt a hundred white sheepe that had fleeces. In this month which answereth to September, they made the feast called *Situa* in this manner: They assembled together the first day of the moone before the rising thereof; and

in seeing it they cryed aloude, carrying torches in their handes, and saying, Let all harme goe away, striking one an other with their torches. They that did this, were called *Panconcos*: which being doone, they went to the common bath, to the rivers and fountaines, and every one to his own bath, setting themselves to drink foure dayes together. In this moneth the *Mamacomas* of the sunne made a great number of small loaves with the blood of the sacrifices, and gave a peece to every stranger; yea they sent to every *Guaca* throughout the realme, and to many *Ciracas*, in signe of confederation and loyaltie to the Sunne and the *Ingua*, as hath bin said.

The bathes drunkenesse and some reliques of this feast *Situa*, remaine even vnto this day, in some places, with the ceremonies a little different, but yet very secretly, for that these chiefe and principall feasts have ceased. The eleventh moneth *Homaraymi Punchaquis*, wherein they sacrificed a hundred sheepe more. And if they wanted water, to procure raine, they set a black sheepe tied in the midst of a plaine, powring much *Chica* about it, and giving it nothing to eate, vntill it rained, which is practised at this day in many places, in the time of our October. The twelfth and last month was called *Aymara*, wherein they did likewise sacrifice a hundred sheepe, and made the feast called *Raymican-tara Rayquis*. In this moneth which answered to our November, they prepared what was necessary for the children that should be made novices, the moneth following, the children with the old men made a certaine shew, with rounds and turnings: and this feast was called *Iuraymi*, which commonly they make when it raines too much, or too little, or when there is a plague.

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Among the extraordinary feasts which were very many, the most famous was that which they called *Ytu*. This feast *Ytu* hath no prefixed time nor season, but in time of necessitie. To prepare themselves thereunto, all the people fasted two dayes, during the which they did neyther company with their wives, nor eate anie meate with salt or garlick, nor drinke any *Chica*. All did assemble together in one place, where no straunger was admitted, nor any beast: they had garnments and ornaments, which served onely for this feast. They marched very quietly in procession, their heades covered with their vailles, sounding of drummes, without speaking one to another. This continued a day and a night; then the day following they daunced and made good cheere for twoo dayes and two nights together, saying, that their prayer was accepted. And although that this feast is not vsed at this day, with all this antient ceremony; yet commonly they make another which is verie like, which they call *Ayma*, with garmentes that serve onely to that end, and they make this kind of procession with their Drummes, having fasted before, then after they make good cheere, which they vsually doe in their vrgent necessiues. And although the Indians forbear to sacrifice beasts, or other things publicly, which cannot be hidden from the Spaniardes, yet doe they still vse many ceremonies that have their beginnings from these feasts and auntient superstitions: for at this day they do covertly make this feast of *Ytu*, at the dances of the feast of the Sacrament, in making the daunces of *Lyamallama*, and of *Guacon*, and of others, according to their auntient ceremonies, wherevnto we ought to take good regarde. They have made more large Discourses of that which concerneth this matter,

for the necessary observation of the abuses and superstitions the Indians had in the time of their gentility, to the end the Priestes and Curates may the better take heede: Let this suffice now to have treated of the exercise wherewith the divell held those superstitious nations occupied, to the end, that against his will wee may see the difference there is betwixt light and darknes, betwixt the trueth of Christ and the lies of the Gentiles, although the ennemy of God and man hath laboured with all his devises to counterfet those things which are of God.

Of the feast of Iubilee which the Mexicaines celebrated.

CHAP. 29.

THE Mexicaines have beene no lesse curious in their feasts and solemnities, which were of small charge, but of great effusion of mans blood. Wee have before spoken of the principall feast of *Vitziliputzli*, after the which the feast of *Tezcalipuca* was most solempnized. This feast fell in Maie, and in their Kalender they called it *Tozcolt*: it fell every foure yeeres with the feast of Penauce, where there was given full indulgence and remission of sinnes. In this day they did sacrifice a captive which resembled the idoll *Tezcalipuca*, it was the nineteenth day of Maie: vpon the even of this feast, the Noblemen came to the Temple, bringing a new garment like vnto that of the idoll, the which the Priest put vpon him, having first taken off his other garments, which they kept with as much, or more reverence than we doe our ornaments. There were in the coffers of the idoll many ornaments, iewelless, earerings, and other riches, as bracelets and pretious feathers which served

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to no other use, but to be there, and was worshipped as their god it selfe. Besides the garment wherewith they worshipped the idoll that day, they put vpon him certaine ensignes of feathers, with fannes, shadowes and other things, being thus attired and furnished, they drew the curtaine or vaile from before the doore, to the end he might be seene of all men: then came forth one of the chiefe of the temple, attired like to the idoll, carrying flowers in his hand, and a flute of earth, hauing a very sharpe sound, and turning towards the east, he sounded it, and then looking to the west, north and south he did the like. And after he had thus sounded towards the foure parts of the world (shewing that both they that were present and absent did heare him) hee put his finger into the aire, and then gathered vp earth, which he put in his mouth, and did eate it in signe of adoration. The like did all they that were present, and weeping, they fell flat to the ground, invoking the darknesse of the night, and the windes, intreating them not to leave them, nor to forget them, or else to take away their lives, and free them from the labors they incurred therein. Theeves, adulterers, and murderers, and all others offenders had great feare and heavinesse, whilst this flute sounded; so as some could not dissemble nor hide their offences. By this meanes they all demanded no other thing of their god, but to have their offences concealed, powring forth many teares, with great repentaunce and sorrow, offering great store of incense to appease their gods. The couragious and valiant men, and all the olde souldiers, that followed the Arte of Warre, hearing this flute, demanded with great devotion of God the Creator, of the Lorde for whome wee live, of the sunne, and of other their gods,

that

that they would give them victorie against their enemies, and strength to take many captives, therewith to honour their sacrifices. This ceremonie was doone ten dayes before the feast: During which tenne dayes the Priest did sound this flute, to the end that all might do this worship in eating of earth, and demaund of their idol what they pleased: they every day made their prayers, with their eyes list vp to heaven, and with sighs and groanings, as men that were grieved for their sinnes and offences. Although this contrition was onelie for feare of the corporal punishment that was given them, and not for any feare of the eternall, for they certainly beleevd there was no such severe punishment in the other life.

And therefore they offered themselves voluntarily to death, holding opinion that it is to all men an assured rest. The first day of the feast of this idoll *Tetzcalipuca* being come, all they of the Citty assembled together in a court, to celebrate likewise the feast of the Kalender, whereof wee have already spoken, which was called *Toxcoaltli*, which signifies a drie thing: which feast was not made to any other end, but to demaund raine, in the same manner that we solemnise the Rogations: and this feast was alwayes in Maie, which is the time that they have most neede of raine in those countries. They beganne to celebrate it the ninth of Maie, ending the nineteenth. The last day of the feast the Priestes drew foorth a litter well furnished with curtains and pendants of diverse fashions. This litter had so many armes to holde by as there were ministers to carry it. All which came forth besmeered with blacke and long haire, halfe in tresses with white strings, and attyred in the livery of the idoll. Vpon this litter they set the

personage of the idoll, appoynted for this feast, which they called the resemblance of their God *Texcalipuca*, and taking it vpon their shoulders, they broght it openly to the foote of the staires: then came forth the yong men and maidens of the Temple, carrying a great cord wreathed of chaines of roasted mays, with the which they invironed the Litter, putting a chaine of the same about the idolles necke, and a garland vppon his head. They called the cord *Toxcala*, signifying the drought and barrenesse of the time. The yoong men came wrapped in redde curtines, with garlands and chains of roasted mays. The maides were clothed in new garments, wearing chaines about their neckes of roasted mays; and vpon their heads myters made of rods covered with this mays, they had their feete covered with feathers, and their armes and cheekes painted. They brought much of this roasted mays, and the chiefe men put it vpon their heads, and about their neckes, taking flowers in their handes. The idoll beeing placed in his litter, they strewd round about a great quantitie of the boughes of Manguey, the leaves whereof are large and pricking.

This litter being set vpon the religious mens shoulders, they carryed it in procession within the circuite of the Court, twoo Priests marching before with censors, giving often incense to the idoll; and every time they gave incense, they listd vp their armes as high as they could to the idoll, and to the Sunne, saying, that they listd vp their praiers to heaven, even as the smoke ascended on high. Then all the people in the Court turned round to the place whither the idoll went, every one carrying in his hand new cords of the threed of manguey, a fadome long, with a knotte at the end, and
with

with them they whipped themselves vpon the shoul-
ders; even as they doe heere vpon holy Thursday.
All the walles of the Court and battlements were full
of boughs and flowers, so fresh and pleasaunt, as it did
give a great contentment. This procession being en-
ded, they brought the idoll to his vsual place of abode,
then came a great multitude of people with flowres,
dressed in diuerse sortes, wherewith they filled the tem-
ple and all the court, so as it seemed the ornament of an
Oratory. All this was putte in order by the priests, the
yong men administring these things vnto them from
without. The chappell or chamber where the idoll re-
mayned was all this day open without any vaile.

This done, every one came and offered curtines,
and pendants of *Sandally*, precious stones, iewells, in-
sence, sweete wood, grapes, or eares of Mays, quai-
les: and finally, all they were accustomed to offer in such
solemnities. Whenas they offered quai-les, (which was
the poore mans offering,) they vsed this ceremonie,
they delivered them to the priestes, who taking them,
pulled off their heads, and cast them at the foote of the
Altare, where they lost their bloud, and so they did of
all other things which were offered. Every one did of-
fer meate and fruite according to their power, the
which was laid at the foote of the altar, and the Mini-
sters gathered them vp, and carried them to their
chambers. This solemne offering done, the people
went to dinner, every one to his village or house, lea-
ving the feast suspended vntill after dinner. In the
meane time, the yong men and maidens of the temple,
with their ornaments, were busied to serve the idoll,
with all that was appointed for him to eate: which
meate was prepared by other women, who had made

a vow that day to serve the idoll. And therefore such as had made this vow, came by the point of day, offering themselves to the Deputies of the Temple, that they might command them what they would have done, the which they did carefully performe. They did prepare such varietie of meates, as it was admirable. This meate being ready, and the houre of dinner come, all these virgins went out of the Temple in procession, every one carrying a little basket of bread in her hand, and in the other, a dish of these meates; before them marched an old man, like to a steward, with a pleasant habite, he was clothed in a white surples downe to the calves of his legges, vpon a dublet without sleeves of red leather, like to a iacket, hee carried wings in steede of sleeves, from the which hung broad ribbands, at the which did hang a small *Calibasse* or pumpion, which was covered with flowers, by little holes that were made in it, and within it were many superstitious things. This old man thus attyred, marched very humbly and heavily before the preparation, with his head declining: and comming neere the foote of the staires, he made a great obeisance and reverence. Then going on the one side, the virgins drew neere with the meate, presenting it in order one after another, with great reverence. This service presented, the old man returned as before, leading the virgins into their convent. This done, the yong men and ministers of the Temple, came forth and gathered vp this meate, the which they carried to the chambers of the chiefe Priests of the Temple, who had fasted five daies, eating onely once a day, and they had also abstained from their wives, not once going out of the Temple in these five daies. During the which, they did whippe themselves rigorously with cordes

cordes, they did eate of this divine meate, (for so they called it,) what they could, neither was it lawfull for any other to eate thereof. All the people having dined, they assembled againe in the court to see the ende of the feast, whither they brought a captive, which by the space of a whole yeare, had represented the idoll, being attyred, decked, and honoured, as the idoll it selfe, and doing all reverence vnto him, they delivered him into the handes of the sacrificers, who at that instant presented themselves, taking him by the feete and handes. The Pope did open his stomacke, and pull out his hart, then did he lift vp his hand as high as he could, shewing it to the Sunne, and to the Idoll, as hath beene said. Having thus sacrificed him that represented the idoll, they went into a holy place appointed for this purpose, whither came the yong men and virgins of the Temple, with their ornaments, the which being put in order, they danced and sung with drummes and other instruments, on the which the chiefe Priests did play and sound. Then came all the Noblemen with ensignes and ornaments like to the yong men, who danced round about them. They did not vsually kill any other men that day, but him that was sacrificed, yet every fourth yeare they had others with him, which was in the yeare of Iubile and full pardons. After Sun set, every one being satisfied with sounding, eating, and drinking, the virgins went al to their convent, they took great dishes of earth full of bread mixt with hony, covered with small panniers, wrought and fashioned with dead mens heads and bones, and they carried the collation to the idoll, mounting vp to the court, which was before the doore of the Oratorie: and having set them downe, they retired in the same order as they came,

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came, the steward going still before. Presently came forth all the yong men in order, with canes or reedes in their handes, who beganne to runne as fast as they could to the toppe of the staires of the Temple, who should come first to the dishes of the collation. The Elders or chiefe Priests observed him that came first, second, third, and fourth, without regarding the rest. This collation was likewise all carried away by the yong men, as great Relicks. This done, the foure that arrived first were placed in the midst of the Antients of the Temple, bringing them to their chambers with much honour, prailing them, and giving them ornaments; and from thence forth they were respected and revered as men of marke. The taking of this collation being ended, and the feast celebrated with much ioy and noise, they dismissed all the yong men and maides which had served the idoll, by meanes whereof they went one after another, as they came forth. All the small children of the colledges and schooles, were at the gate of the court, with bottomes of rushes and hearbes in their hands, which they cast at them, mocking and laughing, as of them that came from the service of the idoll: they had libertie then to dispose of themselves at their pleasure, and thus the feast ended.

Of the Feast of Marchants, which those of Cholutecas did celebrate. CHAP. 30.

Although I have spoken sufficiently of the service the *Mexicaines* did vnto their gods, yet will I speak something of the feast they called *Quetzacoalt*, which was the god of riches, the which was solemnised in this maner. Fortie daies before the Marchants bought a slave,

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slave well proportioned, without any fault or blemish, either of sickenes or of hurte, whome they did attyre with the ornaments of the idoll, that he might represent it fortie daies. Before his clothing they did clense him, washing him twice in a lake, which they called the lake of the gods; and being purified, they attyred him like the idoll. During these forty daies; hee was much respected for his sake whom he represented. By night they did imprison him, (as hath beene said,) lest he should flie, and in the morning they tooke him out of prison, setting him vpon an eminent place, where they served him, giving him exquisite meates to eate. After he had eaten, they put a chaine of flowers about his necke, and many nosegayes in his hands. Hee had a well appointed guard, with much people to accompany him. When he went through the Cittie, he went dancing and singing through all the streetes, that hee might bee knowne for the resemblance of their god, and when hee beganne to sing, the women and little children came forth of their houses to salute him, and to offer vnto him as to their god. Two old men of the Antients of the Temple, came vnto him nine daies before the feast, and humbling themselves before him, they said with a low and submisse voyce, Sir, you must vnderstand that nine daies hence the exercise of dancing and singing doth end, and thou must then die; and then he must answer, in a good houre. They call this ceremony, *Neyolo Maxilitexili*, which is to say, the advertisement: and when they did thus advertise him, they tooke very carefull heede whether hee were sad, or if he danced as ioyfully as he was accustomed, the which if he did not as cheerefully as they desired, they made a foolish superstition in this maner. They presently

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sently tooke the sacrificing rasors, the which they washed and clenſed from the blood of men, which remained of the former ſacrifices. Of this waſhing they made a drinke mingled with another liquor made of *Cacao*, giving it him to drinke; they ſaid that this would make him forget what had beene ſaid vnto him, and would make him in a maner incenſible, returning to his former dancing and mirth. They ſaid moreover, that he would offer himſelf cheerefully to death, being enchanted with this drinke. The cauſe why they fought to take from him this heavineſſe; was, for that they held it for an ill augure, and a fore-telling of ſome great harme. The day of the feaſt being come, after they had done him much honor, ſung, and given him incenſe, the ſacrificers tooke him about mid night and did ſacrifice him, as hath beene ſaid, offering his heart vnto the Moone, the which they did afterwardeſ caſt againſt the idoll, letting the bodie fall to the bottome of the ſtaires of the Temple, where ſuch as had offered him tooke him vp, which were the Marchants, whoſe feaſt it was. Then having carried him into the chiefeſt mans houſe amongſt them, the body was dreſt with divers ſawces, to celebrate (at the breake of day,) the banquet and dinner of the feaſt, having firſt bid the idoll good morrow, with a ſmall dance, which they made whilſt the day did breake, and that they prepared the ſacrifice. Then did all the Marchants aſſemble at this banquet, eſpecially thoſe which made it a trafficke to buy and ſell ſlaves; who were bound every yeare to offer one, for the reſemblance of their god. This idoll was one of the moſt honoured in all the land: and therefore the Temple where hee was, was of great authoritie. There were threeſcore ſtaires to aſcend vp vnto it, and

on.

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on the toppe was a court of an indifferent largenesse, very finely drest and plastered, in the midst whereof, was a great round thing like vnto an Oven, having the entrie low and narrow: so as they must stoope very low that should enter into it. This Temple had chambers and chappells as the rest, where there were convents of Priests, yong men, maides, and children, as hath beene said: and there was one Priest alone resident continually, the which they changed weekly: For although there were in every one of these temples, three or foure Curatès or Ancients, yet did every one serve his weeke without parting. His charge that weeke, (after he had instructed the children,) was to strike vp a drumme every day at the Sunne setting, to the same end that we are accustomed to ring to evensong. This drumme was such as they might heare the house sound thereof throughout all the partes of the Cittie, then every man shut vp his merchandise, and retired vnto his house; and there was so great a silence, as there seemed to be no living creature in the Towne. In the morning whenas the day beganne to breake, they beganne to sound the drumme, which was a signe of the day beginning, so as travellers and strangers attended this signall to beginne their iournies, for till that time it was not lawfull to goe out of the cittie.

There was in this temple a court of a reasonable greatnes, in the which they made great dances, & pastimes, with games or comedies the day of the idolls feast; for which purpose there was in the middest of this court a theatre of thirty foote square very finely decked and trimmed, the which they decked with flowers that day, with all the arte and invention that mought be, beeing invironed round with Arches of divers flowers and feathers,

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thers, and in some places there were tied many small birds, connies, and other tame beasts. After dinner all the people assembled in this place, and the players presented themselves, and played comedies, some counterfeited the deafe, and the rheumatike, others the lame, some the blinde, and without handes, which came to seeke for cure of the idoll: the deafe answered confusedly, the rheumatike did cough, the lame halted, telling their miseries and griefes, wherewith they made the people to laugh; others came foorth in the forme of little beasts, some were attired like snailes, others like roades, and some like lizardes: then meeting together, they tolde their offices, and every one retyring to his place, they sounded on small flutes, which was pleasant to heare. They likewise counterfeited butterflies and small birdes of diverse colours, and the children of the Temple represented these formes, then they went into a little forrest planted there for the nonce, where the Priestes of the Temple drew them foorth with instruments of musicke. In the meane time they vsed many pleasant speeches, some in propounding, others in defending, wherewith the assistants were pleasantly intertained. This doone, they made a maske or mummerie with all these personages, and so the feast ended: the which were vsually doone in their principall feasts.

*What profit may be drawne out of this discourse of the
Indians superstitions.* CHAP. 31.

THIS may suffice to vnderstand the care and paine the Indians tooke to serve and honour their Idolls, or rather the diuell: for it were an infinite matter, and of small profit, to report every thing that hath passed;
for

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for that it may seeme to sonie needlesse to have spoken thus much : and that it is a losse of time, as in reading the fables that are fained by the Romaines of Knight-hood. But if such as holde this opinion will looke wel into it, they shall finde great difference betwixt the one and the other : and that it may be profitable for many considerations ; to have the knowledge of the customs and ceremonies the Indians vsed : first this knowledge is not only profitable, but also necessary in those countries where these superstitions have beene practised, to the end that Christians, and the maisters of the Law of Christ, may know the errours and superstitions of the Antients, and observe if the Indians vse them not at this day, either secretly or openly. For this cause many learned and worthy men have written large Discourses, of what they have found: yea the Provinciaall counsellors have commaunded them to write and print them, as they have doone in *Lima*, where hath beene made a more ample Discourse than this. And therefore it importeth for the good of the Indians, that the Spaniards being in those parts of the *Indies*, should have the knowledge of all these things. This Discourse may likewise serve the Spaniards there, and all others whosoever, to give infinite thanks to God our Lord, who hath imparted so great a benefite vnto vs, giving them his holy Lawe, which is most iust, pure, and altogether profitable. The which we may well know, comparing it with the lawes of Sathan, where so many wretched people have lived so miserably. It may likewise serve to discover the pride, envy, deceits, and ambushes of the Divell, which he practiseth against those he holdes captives, seeing on the one side hee seekes to imitate God, and make comparison with him and his
holy

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holy Lawe, and on the other side : hee dooth mingle with his actions so many vanities, filthinesse and cruelties, as hee that hath no other practise but to sophisticate and corrupt all that is good. Finally, hee that shall see the darkenes and blindenes wherein so many Provinces and Kingdoms have liyed so long time, yea and wherein many Nations, and a great part of the world live yet, deceived with the like trumperies, he can not (if he have a Christians heart) but give thanks to the high God, for such as hee hath called out of so great darkenes, to the admirable light of his Gospel : beseeching the vnspeakeable charitie of the Creator to preserve and increase them in his knowledge and obedience, and likewise berieved for those that follow still the way of perdition. And that in the end hee beseech the Father of Pitty, to open vnto them the treasures and riches of Iesus Christ, who with the Father and Holy-ghost raignes in all

Ages; *Amen.*

(* *)



THE



THE
SIXT BOOKE
of the Naturall and Morall Hi-
storie of the Indies.

*That they erre in their opinion, which holde the Indians
to want iudgement.* CHAP. I.



Aving treated before of
the religion the Indians v-
sed, I pretend to discorse
in this Booke of their cu-
stoms, policy, and govern-
ment, for two considera-
tions : the one is to con-
fute that false opinion ma-
ny doe commonly holde
of them, that they are a
grosse and brutish people, or that they have so little vn-
derstanding, as they scarce deserve the name of anie :
So as many excesses and outrages are committed vpon
them, vsing them like brute beasts, and reputing them
vnworthy of any respect ; which is so common and so
dangerous an errour (as they know well who with any
zeale

zeale and consideration have travelled amongst them, and that have seene and observd their secrets and counsells;) And moreover, for the small regard many make of these Indians, who presume to knowe much, and yet are commonly the most ignorant and presumptuous. I finde no better meanes to confound this pernicious opinion, then in relating their order and maner, whenas they lived vnder their owne lawes, in which (although they had many barbarous things, and without ground, yet had they many others worthy of great admiration, whereby wee may vnderstand, that they were by nature, capable to receive any good instructions: and besides, they did in some things, passe many of our common-weales. It is no matter of marvell if there were so great and grosse faults amongst them, seeing there hath been likewise amongst the most famous Law-givers and Philosophers (yea without exception, *Lycurgus* and *Plato*) and amongst the wisest commonwealths, as the Romanes and Athenians, where wee may finde things so full of ignorance, and so worthy of laughter, as in trueth if the commonweales of the *Mexicaines*, or of the *Inguas*, hadde beene knowne in those times of the Romans and the Greekes, their lawes and governments had been much esteemed by them: But we at this day little regarding this, enter by the sword, without hearing or vnderstanding; perswading our selves that the Indians affaires deserve no other respect, but as of venison that is taken in the Forrest, and broght for our vse and delight.

The most grave and diligent, which have searched and attained to the knowledge of their secrets, customs and antient government; holde another opinion, and admire the order and discourse that hath been betwixt them.

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them. Of which number is *Polo Ondeguardo*, whome I usually followe in the discourse of matters of *Peru*, and for these of *Mexico* *Iohn de Toïar*, who had a Prebend in the Church of *Mexico*, and is now of our company of Iesuites, who by the commaundement of the vice-roy *Don Martin Enriques*, have made a diligent and a large collection of the Histories of that nation, and many other grave and notable personages, who both by word and writing have sufficiently informed me of all those things I shall here set downe. The other end, and the good which may followe by the knowledge of the lawes customes and government of the Indians, is, that wee may helpe and governe them with the same lawes and customes, for that they ought to be ruled according to their owne lawes and priuiledges, so farre forth as they doe not contradict the Lawe of Christ, and his holy Church, which ought to be maintained and kept as their fundamentall lawes. For the ignorance of laws and customes hath bred many errors of great importance, for that the Governours and Iudges, knowe not well how to give sentence, nor rule their subiects. And besides, the wrong which is doone vnto them, against reason, it is preiudiciall and hurtfull vnto our selves, for thereby they take occasion to abhorre vs, as men both in good and in euill alwayes contrary vnto them.

Of the supputation of times, and the Kalender the Mexicaines vsed. CHAP. 2.

And to beginne then by the diuision and supputation of times which the Indians made, wherein truly wee may well perceiue the great signes of their

vivacitie and good vnderstanding. I will first shew in what sorte the Mexicaines counted and divided their yeere, their moneths, their kalender, their computations, their worldes and ages. They divided the yeare into eighteene moneths, to which they gave twentie dayes, wherein the three hundred and three score days are accomplished, not comprehending in any of these moneths the five dayes that remaine, & make the yeare perfect. But they did reckon them aparte, and called them the dayes of nothing: during the which, the people did not any thing, neither went they to their Temples, but occupied themselves only in visiting one another, and so spent the time: the sacrificers of the Temple did likewise cease their sacrifices. These five dayes being past, they beganne the computation of the yeare, whereof the first moneth and the beginning was in March, when the leaves beganne to growe greene, although they tooke three dayes of the moneth of February, for the first day of their yeere was, as it were, the sixe and twentie day of February, as appeareth by their kalender, within the which ours is likewise comprehended and contained with a very ingenious Arte, which was made by the antient Indians that knew the first Spaniardes. I have seene this Kalender, and have it yet in my custody, which well deserveth the sight, to vnderstand the discourse and industry the Mexicaine Indians had. Every one of these eighteene monethes had his proper name, and his proper picture, the which was commonly taken of the principall feast that was made in that moneth, or from the diversitie of tymes, which the yeere caused in that moneth. They had in this Kalender certaine dayes marked and distinguished for their feasts. And they accompted their weekes by thir-

thirteene dayes, making the dayes with a *Zero* or cipher, which they multiplied vnto thirteene, and then beganne to count, one, two, &c. They did likewise marke the yeares of these wheelles, with foure signes or figures, attributing to every yeare a peculiar signe, whereof one was of a house, an other of a conny, the third of a reede, and the fourth of a flint. They painted them in this sort, noting by those figures the yeare that did runne, saying of so many houses, of so many flints of such a wheele, happened such a thing. For we must vnderstand that their wheele, which was an age, contained foure weekes of yeares, every weeke containing thirteene yeares, which in all made fittie twoo yeares. In the midst of this wheele they painted a Sunne, from the which went foure beames or lines in crosse to the circumference of the wheele; and they made their course, even as the circumference was divided into foure equall partes, every one with his line, having a distinct colour from the rest, and the foure colors were, greene, blew, red, and yellow: every portion of these foure had thirteene separations which had all their signes or particular figures, of a house, a conny, a reed, or a flint, noting by every signe a yeare, and vppon the head of this signe they painted what had happened that yeare.

And therefore I did see in the Kalender mentioned the yeare when the Spaniards entered *Mexico*, marked by the picture of a man clad in red, after our manner, for such was the habite of the first Spaniard, whome *Fernand Cortes* sent, at the end of the two & fifty years, which finished the wheele. They vsed a pleasant ceremony, which was, the last night they didde breake all their vesselles and stufte, and put out their fire, and all

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the lights, saying, that the worlde should end at the finishing of one of these wheelles, and it might be at that time : for (said they) seeing the worlde must then end, what neede is there to provide meate to eate, and therefore they had no further neede of vessel nor fire. Vpon this conceit they passed the night in great feare, saying it might happen there would be no more day, and they watched very carefully for the day; but when they saw the day beginne to breake, they presently beat manie drummes, and sounded cornets, flutes, and other instruments of ioy and gladnesse, saying, that God did yet prolong the time with another age, which were fiftie two yeares. And then beganne an other wheele. The first day and beginning of this age they took new fire, and bought new vesselles to dresse their meate, and all went to the high Priest for this new fire, having first made a solemne sacrifice, and given thanks for the coming of the day, and prolongation of an other age. This was their manner of accounting their yeares, moneths, weekes, and ages.

How the Kings Inguas accounted the yeares and moneths. CHAP. 3.

ALthough this supputation of times practised amongst the Mexicaines, bee ingenious enough and certaine, for men that had no learning; yet in my opinion they wanted discourse and consideration, having not grounded their computation according vnto the course of the moone, nor distributed their months accordingly, wherein those of *Peru* have far surpassed them: for they divided their yeare into as many dayes, perfectly accomplished as we do heere, and into twelve moneths

moneths or moones, in the which they imployed and consumed the eleven daies that remaind of the moone as *Polo* writes. To make the computation of their yeare sure and certaine, they vsed this industry; vpon the mountaines which are about the city of *Cusco* (where the Kings *Inguas* held their court, beeing the greatest sanctuary of those realmes, and as we should say an other *Rome*) there were twelve pillars set in order, and in such distaunce the one from the other, as every month one of these pillars did note the rising and setting of the sunne. They called them *Succanga*, by meanes whereof they taught and shewed, the feasts, and the seasons fitte to sow and reape, and to do other things. They did certaine sacrifices to these pillars of the sunne. Every month had his proper name, and pecular feasts. They beganne the yeare by Ianuary as wee doe. But since, a king *Ingua* called *Pachacuto*, which signifies a reformer of the Temple, beganne their yeare by December, by reason (as I coniecture) that then the Sunne returneth from the last poynt of Capricorne, which is the tropike neereft vnto them. I know not whether the one or the other have observed any Bisexte, although some holde the contrary. The weekes which the Mexicaines did reckon, were not properly weekes, being not of seaven dayes: the *Inguas* likewise made no mention thereof which is no wonder, seeing the account of the weeke is not grounded vpon the course of the sunne, as that of the yeare; nor of the moone, as that of the month; but among the Hebrewes it is grounded vpon the creation of the world, as *Moyse* reporteth; and amongst the Greekes and Latins vpon the number of the seven planets, of whose names the dayes of the weeke have taken their denomination; yet was it much for those

Indians, being men without bookes and learning, to have a yeare, seasons, and feasts, so well appoynted as I have sayd.

That no nation of the Indies hath beene found to have had the use of letters. CHAP. 4.

Letters were invented to signifie properly the words we do pronounce, even as woordes (according to the Philosopher) are the signes and demonstrations of mans thoughtes and conceptions. And both the one and the other (I say the letters and words) were ordained to make things knowne. The voyce for such as are present, and letters for the absent, and such as are to come. Signes and markes which are not properly to signifie wordes, but things, cannot be called, neyther in trueth are they letters, although they be written, for wee can not say that the Picture of the sunne be a writing of the sunne, but onely a picture; the like may be saide of other signes and characters, which have no resemblance to the thing, but serve onely for memorie: for he that invented them, did not ordaine them to signifie wordes, but onely to note the thing: neyther do they call those characters, letters, or writings, as indeede they are not, but rather ciphers, or remembraunces, as those be, which the Spherists or Astronomers do use, to signifie divers signes or planets of *Mars, Venus, Iupiter, &c.*

Such characters are ciphers, and no letters: for what name soever *Mars* may have in Italian, French, or Spanish, this character doth alwaies signifie it, the which is not found in letters: for although they signify the thing, yet is it by meanes of words. So as they which know

not

not the tongue, vnderstand them not: as for example, the Greekes nor the Hebrews, cannot conceiue what this word *Sol* doth signifie, although they see it written; for that they vnderstand not the Latine word: so as writing and letters are onely practised by them, which signifie words therewith. For if they signifie things mediately, they are no more letters nor writings, but ciphers and pictures: whereby we may observe two notable things. The one, that the memory of histories and antiquities may bee preserved by one of these three meanes, either by letters and writings, as hath beene vsed amongst the Latines, Greekes, Hebrews, and many other Nations; or by painting, as hath beene vsed almost throughout all the world, for it is said in the second *Nicene Counsell*, *Painting is a booke for fooles which cannot read*: or by ciphers and characters, as the cipher signifies the number of a hundred, a thousand and others, without noting the word of a hundred, or a thousand. The other thing we may observe thereby, is that which is propounded in this chapter, which is, that no Nation of the *Indies* discovered in our time, hath had the vse of letters and writings, but of the other two sortes, images, and figures. The which I observe, not onely of the *Indies* of *Peru*, and new *Spaine*, but also of *Iappon*, and *China*. And although this may seeme false to some, seeing it is testified by the discourses that have beene written, that there are so great Libraries and Vniuersities in *China*, and *Iappon*, and that mention is made of their *Chapas*, letters, and expeditions, yet that which I say, is true, as you may vnderstand by the discourse following.

Of the fashion of Letters, and Bookes, the Chinois vsed.

CHAP. 5.

There are many which thinke, and it is the most common opinion, that the writings which the *Chinois* vsed, are letters, as those we vse in Europe, and that by them wee may write wordes and discourses, and that they only differ from our letters and writings, in the diversitie of characters, as the Greekes differ from the Latines, and the Hebrews from the Chaldees. But it is not so, for they have no Alphabet, neither write they any letters, but all their writing is nothing else but painting and ciphering: and their letters signifie no partes of distinctions, as ours do, but are figures and representations of things, as of the Sunne, of fire, of a man, of the sea, and of other things. The which appears plainly, for that their writings and *Chapas*, are vnderstood of them all, although the languages the *Chinois* speake, are many and very different; in like sort as our numbers of ciphers are equally vnderstood in the Spanish, French, and Arabian tongues: for this figure 8. wheresoever it be, signifies eight, although the French call this number of one sort, and the Spaniards of another. So as things being of themselves innumerable, the letters likewise or figures which the *Chinois* vse to signifie them by, are in a maner infinite: so as he that shall reade or write at *China*, (as the *Mandarins* doe,) must know and keepe in memory at the least fourescore and five thousand characters or letters, and those which are perfect herein, know above sixscore thousand. A strange and prodigious thing; yea, incredible, if it were not testified by men worthy of credite, as the fathers of our company, who are there continually, learning their language

language and writing, wherein they have studied day and night above tenne yeares, with a continuall labour; for the charitie of Christ, and the desire of salvation of soules, prevailed in them above all this labour and difficultie. For this reason learned men are so much esteemed in *China*; for the difficultie there is to conceive them: & those only have the offices of Mandarins, Governours, Iudges, and Captaines. For this cause the fathers take great pains to instruct their children to reade and write. There are many of these schooles where the children are taught, where the masters teach them by day, and the fathers at home by night: so as they hurt their eyes much, and they whippe them often with reedes, although not so severely as they doe offenders. They call it the *Mandarin* tongue, which requires a mans age to be conceived. And you must vnderstand, that although the tongue which the *Mandarins* speake, bee peculiar and different from the Vulgar, which are many, and that they studie it, as they doe Latine & Greeke heere, and that the learned only throught out all *China*, do vnderstand it: so it is notwithstanding that all that is written in it, is vnderstood in all tongues: and although all the Provinces doe not vnderstand one another by speaking, yet by writing they doe: for there is but one sort of figures and characters for them all, which signifie one thing, but not the same word and prolation: seeing (as I have said,) they are onely to denote the things, and not the worde, as we may easily vnderstand by the examples of numbers in ciphering. And they of *Iappon* & the *Chinois*, do reade and vnderstand well the writings one of another, although they be divers Nations, and different in tongue and language. If they speake what they reade or write, they should

should not bee vnderstood. Such are the letters and bookes the *Chinois* vse, being so famous in the world. To make their impressions, they grave a boord or plank with the figures they will print; then do they stampe as many leaves of paper as they list, of the same sort as they have made their pictures, the which are graven in copper or wood. But a man of iudgement may aske, how they could signifie their conceptions by figures, which approached neere or resemble the thing they would represent. As to say, the Sunne heats, or, that he hath beheld the Sunne, or, the day is of the Sunne. Finally, how it were possible to denote by the same figures, the case, the coniunction, and the articles, which are in many tongues and writings: I answer therevnto, that they distinguish and signifie this variety by certaine points, strikes, and dispositions of the figure. But it is difficult to vnderstand how they can write proper names in their tongue, especially of strangers, being things they have never seene, and notable to invent figures proper vnto them. I have made triall thereof being in *Mexico* with the *Chinois*, willing them to write this proposition in their language, *Ioseph Acosta is come from Peru*: and such like: wherevpon the *Chinois* was long pensive, but in the end hee did write it, the which other *Chinois* did after read, although they did vary a little in the pronountiation of the proper name. For they vse this devise to write a proper name: they seeke out something in their tongue, that hath resemblance to that name, and set downe the figure of this thing. And as it is difficult among so many proper names, to finde things to resemble them in the prolation, so is it very difficult and troublesome, to write such names. Vpon this purpose, father *Allonso Sanchez*

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told vs, that when he was in *China*, being led into divers Tribunall seates, from *Manderin* to *Manderin*, they were long in putting his name in writing in their *Chapas*, yet in the end they did write it after their maner, and so ridiculously, that they scarce came neere to the name: and this is the fashion of letters and writings which the *Chinois* vsed. That of the *Iapponois* approached very neere, although they affirme that the Noblemen of *Iappon* that came into *Europe*, did write all things very easily in their language, were they of our proper names: yea, I have had some of their writings shewed me, whereby it seemes they should have some kinde of letters, although the greatest part of their writings, be by the characters and figures, as hath bin saide of the *Chinois*.

Of the Schooles and Vniuersities of China.
CHAP. 6.

THE fathers of our company say, that they have not scene in *China*, any great schooles or vniuersities of Philosophie, and other naturall sciences; beleeving there is not any, but that all their studie is in the *Manderin* tongue, which is very ample and hard, as I have said: and what they studie, bee things written in their owne tongue, which be histories of sects, and opinions, of ciuill lawes, of morall proverbes, of fables, and many other such compositions that depend thereon. Of diuine sciences they have no knowledge, neither of naturall things, but some small remainders of straied propositions, without art or methode, according to euery mans witte and studie. As for the Mathematices, they have experience of the celestiaall motions, and of the starres. And for Phisicke, they have know-
ledge

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lege of herbs, by means wherof, they cure many diseases, & vse it much. They write with pensils, & have many books written with the hand, and others printed, but in a bad order. They are great plaiers of comedies, the which they perform with great preparation of theaters, apparel, bells, drums, and voices. Some fathers report to have seene comedies which lasted ten or twelve dayes and nights, without any want of comedians, nor company to beholde them. They doe make many different sceanes, and whilst some act, the others feede and sleep. In these comedies they do commonly treat of morall things, and of good examples, intermingled with pleasant devises. This is the summe of that which our men report of the letters and exercises of them of *China*, wherein wee must confesse to be much wit and industrie. But all this is of small substance, for in effect all the knowledge of the *Chinois*, tendes onely to reade and write, & no farther: for they attaine to no high knowledge. And their writing, and reading, is not properly reading, and writing, seeing their letters are no letters that can represent wordes, but figures of innumerable things, the which cannot be learned, but in a long time and with infinite labour. But in the end with all their knowledge, an Indian of *Peru* or *Mexico*, that hath learned to reade and write, knowes more then the wisest *Mandarin* that is amongst them: for that the Indian with foure and twentie letters which he hath learned, will write all the wordes in the world: and a *Mandarin* with his hundred thousand letters, will be troubled to write some proper name, as of *Martin*, or *Alonso*, & with greater reason he shalbe lesse able to write the names of things he knowes not. So as the writing in *China*, is no other thing but a maner of painting or ciphring.

of the fashion of letters and writings which the Mexicanes used. CHAP. 7.

WE finde amongst the Nations of New *Spain* a great knowledge and memorie of antiquitie; and therefore searching by what meanes the Indians had preserved their Histories, and so many particularities, I learned, that although they were not so subtil and curious as the *Chinois*, and those of *Iappon*, yet had they some kinde of letters and bookes amongst them, whereby they preserved (after their manner) the deeds of their predecessors. In the province of *Yu-latan*, where the Bishopricke is, which they call *de Honduras*, there were bookes of the leaves of trees, folded and squared, after their manner, in the which the wise Indians contained the distribution of their times, the knowledge of the planets, of beasts and other naturall things, with their antiquities, a thing full of great curiositie and diligence. It seemed to some Pedant that all this was an incantment & magicke arte, who did obstinately maintaine, that they ought to be burnt, so as they were committed to the fire. Which since, not onely the Indians found to be ill done; but also the curious Spaniards, who desired to know the secrets of the countrey. The like hath happened in other things: for our men thinking that all was but superstition, have lost many memorials of ancient and holy things, which might have profited much. This proceedeth of a foolish and ignorant zeale, who not knowing, nor seeking to knowe what concerned the Indians, say preiudicately, that they are all but witchcrafts, and that all the Indians are but drunkards, incapable to know or learne any thing.

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For such as would be curiously informed of them, have found many things worthy of consideration. One of our company of Iesuites, a man very witty and well experienced, did assemble in the province of *Mexico*, the Antients of *Tescuco*, of *Talla*, and of *Mexico*, conferring at large with them, who shewed vnto him their books, histories and kalenders, things very woorthy the sight, bicause they had their figures and hieroglyphicks, whereby they represented things in this maner: Such as had forme or figure, were represented by their proper images, and such as had not any, were represented by characters that signified them, and by this meanes they figured and writ what they would. And to observe the time when any thing did happen, they had those painted wheelles, for every one of them contained an age, which was two and fifty yeares, as hath beene said; and of the side of those wheelles, they did paint with figures and characters right against the yeare, the memorable things that happened therein. As they noted the yeare whenas the Spaniards entred their Countrey, they painted a man with a hatte and a red ierkin, vpon the signe of the reede, which did rule then, and so of other accidents. But for that their writings and characters were not sufficient as our letters and writings be, they could not so plainly expresse the words, but onely the substance of their conceptions. And forasmuch as they were accustomed to reherse Discourses and Dialogues by heart, compounded by their Oratours and aunient Rhethoritians, and many *Chapas* made by their Poets (which were impossible to learne by their Hieroglyphickes and Characters) the Mexicaines were very curious to have their children learne those dialogues and compositions by heart. For the which cause they had

Schooles,

Schooles; and as it were, Colledges or Seminaries; where the Auncients taught children these Orations, and many other things, which they preserved amongst them by tradition from one to another, as perfectly, as if they had beene written; especially the most famous Nations had a care to have their children (which had any inclination to be Rhetoricians, and to practise the office of Orators) to learne these Orations by heart: So as when the Spaniardes came into their Country, and had taught them reade and write our letters, many of the Indians then wrote these Orations, as some grave men doe witnes that had read them. Which I say, for that some which shall happily reade these long and eloquent discourses in the Mexicaine Historie, will easilie beleieve they have beene invented by the Spaniardes, and not really taken and reported from the Indians. But having knowne the certaine trueth, they will give credite (as reason is) to their Histories. They did also write these Discourses after their manner, by Characters and Images: and I have seene for my better satisfaction, the *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, and *Simboll*, or generall confession of our faith, written in this manner by the Indians.

And in trueth whosoever shall see them, will wonder thereat. For, to signifie these wordes, I a sinner do confesse my selfe, they painted an Indian vpon his knees, at a religious mans feete; as one that confesseth himselfe: and for this, *To God most mighty*, they painted three faces with their Crownes, like to the Trinitie, and *To the glorious Virgine Marie*, they painted the face of our Lady, and halfe the body of a little childe: and for *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, heads with crowns; and a key with a sword: and whereas images failed, they did set cha-

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acters, as *Wherein I have sinned, &c.* whereby wee may conceive the quickenesse of spirite of these Indians, seeing this manner of writing of our prayers and matters of faith hath not beene taught them by the Spaniards, neither could they have done it, if they had not had an excellent conception of that was taught them. And I have seene in *Pern*, a confession of sinnes brought by an Indian, written in the same sorte with pictures and characters, painting every one of the tenne Commandementes, after a certaine manner, where there were certaine marks like ciphers, which were the sinnes hee had committed against the Commaundements. I nothing doubt but if any of the most sufficient Spaniards were imployed to make memorialles of the like things by their images and marks, they would not attaine unto it in a whole yeare, no not in tenne.

*Of Registers and the manner of reckoning which
the Indians of Pern used.*

CHAP. 8.

BEfore the Spaniards came to the Indies, they of *Pern* had no kinde of writing, either letters, characters, ciphers, or figures, like to those of *China* and *Mexico*: yet preserved they the memory of their Antiquities, and maintaine an order in all their affairs, of peace, warre, and pollicie, for that they were carefull observers of traditions from one to another, and the yoong ones learned, and carefully kept, as a holy thing, what their superiors had tolde them, and taught it with the like care to their posteritie. Besides this diligence, they supplied the want of letters and writings, partly by painting, as those of *Mexico*, (although they of *Pern*

were

were very grose and blockish) and partely, and most commonly by *Quippos*. These *Quippos* are memorialls or registers, made of bowes, in the which there are diuerse knottes and colours, which do signifie diuerse things, and it is strange to see what they have expressed and represented by this meanes: for their *Quippos* serue them insteede of Bookes of histories, of lawes, ceremonies, and accounts of their affaires. There were officers appointed to keepe these *Quippos*, the which at this day they call *Quipocamayos*, the which were bound to give an account of every thing, as Notaries and Registers doe heere. Therefore they fully beleeeved them in all things, for according to the varietie of businesse, as warres, pollicie, tributes, ceremonies and landes, there were sundry *Quippos* or braunches, in every one of the which there were so many knottes little and great, and strings tied vnto them, some red, some greene, some blew, some white; and finally, such diuersitie, that euen as wee derive an infinite number of woordes from the foure and twenty letters, applying them in diuerse sortes, so doe they drawe innumerable woordes from their knottes, and diuersitie of colours. Which thing they doe in such a manner, that if at this day in *Peru*, any Commissary come at the end of two or three yeares, to take information vppon the life of any officer, the Indians come with their small reckonings verified, saying, that in such a village they have given him so many egges which hee hath not payed for, in such a house a henne, in an other, two burdens of grasse for his horse, and that he hath payed but so much mony, and remaineth debtor so much. The prooofe being presently made with these numbers of knottes and handfulls of cords, it remains for a certaine testimony and register. I did

see a handfull of these strings; wherein an Indian woman carried written a generall confession of all her life, and thereby confessed herselfe; as well as I could have done it in written paper. I asked her what those strings meant that differed from the rest: she answered mee, they were certaine circumstaunces which the sin required to be fully confessed. Beside these *Quippos* of thred, they have an other, as it were a kinde of writing with small stones, by meanes whereof, they learne punctually the words they desire to know by heart. It is a pleasant thing to see the olde and the impotent (with a wheele made of small stones) learne the *Pater noster*, with another the *Ave Maria*, with another the Creede; and to remember what stone signifies, *Which was conceived by the holy ghost*, and which, *Suffered vnder Pontius Pilate*.

It is a pleasant thing to see them correct themselves when they doe erre; for all their correction consisteth onely in beholding of their small stones. One of these wheelles were sufficient to make mee forget all that I knowe by heart. There are a great number of these wheelles in the Church-yardes for this purpose. But it seemes a kinde of witchcraft, to see an other kinde of *Quippos*, which they make of graines of Mays; for to cast vp a hard account; wherein a good Arithmetitian would be troubled with his penne to make a division: to see how much every one must contribute: they drawe so many graines from one side, and adde so many to another, with a thousand other inventions. These Indians wil take their graines, and place five of one side, three of another, and eight of another, and wil change one graine of one side, and three of another: So as they finish a certaine account, without erring in any poynt:

and

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and they sooner submitte themselves to reason by these *Quippos*, what every one ought to pay, then we can do with the penne. Hereby we may iudge if they have any vnderstanding, or be brutish: for my parte, I think they passe vs in those things, wherevnto they do apply themselves.

Of the order the Indians holde in their writings.

CHAP. 9.

IT shalbe good to adde heerevnto what we have observed, touching the Indians writings: for their manner was not to write with a continued line, but from the toppe to the bottome, or in circle-wise. The Latines and Greeks do write from the left hand vnto the right, which is the vulgar and common manner we do use. The Hebrewes contrariwise beganne at the right to the left, and therefore their bookes beganne where ours did end. The *Chinois* write neither like the Greeks nor like the Hebrews, but from the toppe to the bottome, for as they be no letters but whole wordes, and that every figure and character signifieth a thing, they have no neede to assemble the parts one with an other, and therefore they may well write from the toppe to the bottome. Those of *Mexico*, for the same cause did not write in line, from one side to another, but contrarie to the *Chinois*, beginning below, they mounted upward. They vsed this maner of writing, in the account of their daies, and other things which they observed: Yet when they did write in their wheels or signes, they beganne from the middest where the Sunne was figured, and so mounted by their yeeres vnto the round and circumference of the wheele. To conclude, wee

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finde foure different kindes of writings, some writte from the right to the left, others from the left to the right, some from the toppe to the bottome, and others from the foote to the toppe, wherein wee may discover the diversity of mans iudgement.

How the Indians dispatched their Messengers.

CHAP. IO.

TO finish the maner they had of writing, some may with reason doubt how the Kings of *Mexico* and *Pern* had intelligence from all those realmes that were so great, or by what meanes they could dispatch their affaires in Court, seeing they had no vse of any letters, nor to write pacquets: wherein we may be satisfied of this doubt, when we vnderstand, that by wordes, pictures, and these memorialles, they were often advertised of that which passed. For this cause there were men of great agilitie, which served as curriers, to goe and come, whomé they did nourish in this exercise of running from their youth, labouring to have them well breathed, that they might runne to the toppe of a high hill without wearines. And therefore in *Mexico* they gave the prize to three or foure that first mounted vp the staires of the Temple, as hath beene said in the former Booke. And in *Cusco*, when they made their solemne feast of *Capacrayme*, the novices did runne who could fastest vp the rocke of *Ynacauri*. And the exercise of running is generall, much vsed among the Indians. Whenas there chaunced any matter of importaunce, they sent vnto the Lordes of *Mexico*, the thing painted, whereof they would advertise them, as they did when the first Spanish ships appeared to their sight, & when they

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they tooke *Topanchan*. In *Peru* they were very curious of footemen, and the *Inga* had them in all parts of the realme, as ordinary Posts called *Chasquis*, whereof shall be spoken in his place.

*Of the manner of government, and of the Kings
which the Indians had.*

CHAP. II.

IT is apparant, that the thing wherein these barbarous people shew their barbarisme, was in their government and manner of commaund: for the more that men approach to reason, the more milde is their government and lesse insolent; the Kings and Lords are more tractable, agreeing better with their subiects, acknowledging them equall in nature, though inferiour in ductie and care of the commonwealth. But amongst the Barbarians all is contrary, for that their government is tyrannous, vsing their subiects like beasts, and seeking to be reverenced like gods: For this occasion many nations of the *Indies* have not indured any Kings, or absolute & soveraigne Lords, but live in comminalties, creating and appointing Captains and Princes, for certaine occasions onely, to whome they obey during the time of their charge, then after they returne to their former estates. The greatest part of this new world (where there are no settled kingdomes, nor established commonweales, neither princes nor succeeding kings) they governe themselves in this manner, although there be some Lordes and principall men raised above the common sort. In this sorte the whole Countrey of *Chille* is governed, where the *Auracanes*, those of *Tenacapell* and others, have so many yeeres resisted the Spaniardes.

And in like sort all the new kingdome of *Grenado*, that of *Guatimalta*, the Ilandes, all *Florida*, *Bresill*, *Luson* and other countries of great circuite: but that in some places, they are yet more barbarous, scarcely acknowledging any head, but all commaund and governe in common, having no other thing, but wil, violence, industry and disorder, so as he that most may, most commaunds. At the East *Indies* there are great kingdomes, well ordered and governed, as that of *Sian*, *Bisnaga*, and others, which may bring to field when they please, a hundred or two hundred thousand men.

As likewise the Kingdome of *China*, the which in greatnes and power, surpasseth all the rest, whose kings, (as they report,) have continued above two thousand yeares, by meanes of their good order and government. But at the West *Indies*, they have onely found two Kingdomes or seled Empires, that of the *Mexicaines* in new *Spaine*, and of the *Inguas* in *Peru*. It is not easie to be said, which of the two was the mightiest Kingdome, for that *Motecuma*, exceeded them of *Peru*, in buildings, and in the greatnes of his court: but the *Inguas*, did likewise exceede the *Mexicaines*, in treasure, riches, and greames of Provinces. In regarde of antiquitie, the Monarchie of the *Inguas*, hath the advantage, although it be not much, and in my opinion, they have beene equall in feates of armes and victories. It is most certaine, that these two Kingdomes have much exceeded all the Indian Provinces, discovered in this new world, as well in good order and government, as in power and wealth, and much more in superstition and service of their idolls, having many things like one to an other. But in one thing they differed much, for among the *Mexicaines*, the succession of the kingdome,

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was

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was by election, as the Empire of the Romans, and that of *Peru*, was hereditarie, and they succeeded in bloud, as the Kingdomes of *Fraunce*, and *Spain*. I will therefore heereafter treat of these two governments, (as the chiefe subiect and best knowne amongst the Indians,) being fit for this discourse, leaving many and tedious things which are not of importance.

Of the Government of the Kings and Ingvas of Peru.

CHAP. 12.

THE *Ingua* which ruled in *Peru*, being dead, his lawfull sonne succeeded him, and so they held him that was borne of his chiefe wife, whome they called *Coya*. The which they have alwaies observed since the time of an *Ingua*, calld *Tupangui*, who married his sister: for these Kings held it an honour to marry their sisters. And although they had other wives, and concubines, yet the succession of the Kingdome appertained to the sonne of the *Coya*. It is true, that when the King had a legitimate brother, he succeeded before the sonne, and after him his nephew, and sonne to the first. The *Curacas*, and Noblemen, held the same order of succession in their goods and offices. And after their maner they made excessive ceremonies, and obsequies for the dead. They observed one custome very great & full of state, that a King which entred newly into his Kingdome, should not inherite any thing of the movables, implements, and treasure of his predecessour, but hee must furnish his house new, and gather together gold, silver, and other things necessarie, not touching any thing of the deceased, the which was wholly dedicated for his Oratorie or *Gnaca*, and for the entertainment of the family he left, the which with his offspring, was
always

alwaies busied at the sacrifices, ceremonies, and service
 of the deceased King: for being dead, they presently
 held him for a god, making sacrifices vnto him, images,
 and such like. By this meanes, there was infinite trea-
 sure in *Pern*: for every one of the *Inguas*, had laboured
 to have his Oratorie and treasure surpasse that of his
 predecessors. The marke or ensigne, whereby they
 took possession of the realme, was a red rowle of wooll,
 more fine then silke, the which hung in the midst
 of his forehead: and none but the *Ingua* alone might
 weare it; for that it was as a Crowne and royall Dia-
 deme: yet they might lawfully weare a rowle hanging
 on the one side, neere vnto the eare, as some Noblemen
 did; but onely the *Ingua* might carry it in the midst
 of his forehead. At such time as they tooke this rou-
 le or wreath, they made solemne feasts, and many sacri-
 fices, with a great quantity of vessell of gold, and sil-
 ver, a great number of small formes or images of sheep,
 made of gold and silver, great abundance of the stufes
 of *Cumby*, well wrought, both fine and courser, many
 shells of the sea of all sortes, many feathers; and a thou-
 sand sheepe, which must be of diuers colours. Then the
 chiefe Priest tooke a yong child in his handes, of the
 age of six or eight yeares, pronouncing these wordes
 with the other ministers speaking to the image of *Vi-
 racocha*, Lord we offer this vnto thee, that thou maiest main-
 taine vs in quiet, and helpe vs in our warres, maintaine our
 Lord the *Ingua* in his greatnes and estate, that hee may al-
 waies increase, giuing him much knowledge to governe vs.
 There were present at this ceremony and oath, men
 of all partes of the Realme; and of all *Guacas* and San-
 ctuaries. And without doubt, the affection and reue-
 rence this people bare to their Kings *Inguas*, was very
 great

great, for it is never found that any one of his subiectes committed treason against him, for that they proceeded in their governments, not only with an absolute power, but also with good order and iustice, suffering no man to be oppressed: The *Inguas* placed governours in divers Provinces, amongst the which, some were superiors, and did acknowledge none but himselfe, others were of lesse commaund, and others more particular; with so goodly an order, and such gravitie, as no man durst bee drunke, nor take an care of Mays from his neighbour. These *Inguas* held it for a maxime, that it was necessary to keepe the Indians alwaies in action: and therefore we see it to this day, long cawseies and workes of great labour, the which they say were made to exercise the Indians, lest they should remaine idle. When he conquered any new Province, he was accustomed presently to send the greatest part, and the chiefe of that Country into other Provinces, or else to his Court, and they call them at this day in *Peru*, *Mitimas*, and in their places hee sent others of the Nation of *Cusco*, especially the *Oreiones*, which were as Knights of an ancient house. They punished faultes rigorously. And therefore such as have any vnderstanding heereof, hold opinion, that there can be no better government for the Indians, nor more assured, then that of the *Inguas*.

Of the distribution the Inguas made of their Vessell.

CHAP. 13.

TO relate more particularly what I have spoken before, you must vnderstand, that the distribution which the *Inguas* made of their vessells, was so exact and

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and distinct, as he might governe them all with great facilitie, although his realme were a thousand leagues long: for having conquered a Province, he presently reduced the Indians into Towns and Comminalties, the which he divided into bandes, hee appointed one to have the charge over every ten Indians, over every hundred another, over every thousand another, & over ten thousand another, whom they called *Humo*, the which was one of the greatest charges. Yet above all in every Province, there was a Governour of the house of the *Inguas*, whom all the rest obeyed, giving vnto him every yeare in particular account of what had passed, that is, of such as were borne, of those that were dead and of their troupes and graine. The Governors went every yeare out of *Cusco*, where they remained, and returned to the great feast of *Rayme*, at the which, they brought the tribute of the whole Realme to the Court; neither might they enter but with this condition. All the Kingdome was divided into foure partes, which they called *Tabuantinsuyo*, that is, *Chinchasuyo*, *Collasuyo*, *Andesuyo*, & *Condesuyo*, according to the foure waies which went from *Cusco*, where the Court was resident, and where the generall assemblies of the realme were made. These waies and Provinces being answerable vnto them, were towards the foure quarters of the world, *Collasuyo* to the South, *Chinchasuyo* to the North, *Condesuyo* to the West, and *Andesuyo* to the East. In every towne and village, there were two sortes of people, which were of *Hanansaya*, and *Vrinsaya*, which is as much to say, as those above, and those below. When they commanded any worke to be done, or to furnish any thing to the *Ingua*, the officers knew presently how much every Province, Towne, and Family, ought

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ought to furnish: so as the division was not made by equall portions, but by cottization, according to the qualities and wealth of the Countrey. So as for example, if they were to gather a hundred thousand *Faneques* of Mays, they knew presently how much every Province was to contribute, were it a tenth, a seventh, or a fift part. The like was of Townes and Villages, *Aillos*, or Linages. The *Quipocamayos*, which were the officers and intendants, kept the account of all with their strings and knottes, without failing; setting downe what every one had paid, even to a hen, or a burthen of wood, and in a moment they did see by divers registers what every one ought to pay.

Of the Edifices and maner of building of the Inguas.

CHAP. 14.

THE Edifices and Buildings which the *Inguas* made in temples, fortresses, waies, countrey houses, and such like, were many in number, and of an excessive labour, as doth appeare at this day by their ruines and remainders, both in *Cusco*, *Tyaguanaco*, *Tambo*, and other places, where there are stones of an vnmeasurable greatnes: so as men cannot conceive how they were cut, brought, and set in their places. There came great numbers of people from all Provinces, to worke in these buildings and fortresses, which the *Ingua* caused to be made in *Cusco*, or other partes of the Realme. As these workes were strange, and to amaze the beholders, wherein they vsed no mortar nor ciment, neither any yron, or Steele, to cut, and set the stones in worke. They had no engines or other instruments to carrie them, and yet were they so artificially wrought, that
in

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in many places they could not see the ioyntes: and many of these stones are so big, that it were an incredible thing, if one should not see them. At *Tiaguanaco*, I did measure a stone of thirty eight foote long, of eightene broad, and six thicke. And in the wall of the fortresse of *Cusco*, which is of *Moallan*; there are stones of a greater bignes. And that which is most strange, these stones being not cut nor squared to ioyne, but contrariwise, very vnequall one with another in forme and greatness, yet did they ioyne them together without ciment, after an incredible maner. All this was done by the force of men, who endured their labour with an invincible patience. For to ioyne one stone with another, they were forced to handle and trie many of them often, being vneven. The *Inqua* appoynted every yeare what numbers of people should labour in these stones and buildings, and the *Indians* made a division amongst them, as of other things, so as no man was oppressed. Although these buildings were great, yet were they commonly ill appoynted and vnfit, almost like to the Mosquitoes or buildings of the Barbarians.

They could make no arches in their edifices, nor mortar or cymient to builde them withall: when they saw arches of wood built vpon the river of *Xaura*, the bridge being finished, and the wood broken downe, they all beganne to runne away, supposing that the bridge which was of stone should presently fall; but when they found it to stand firme, and that the Spaniards went on it, the *Cacique* saide to his companions; *It is reason we should serve these men, who in truth seeme to be the children of the Sunne.* The bridges they made were of reedes plaited, which they tied to the bankes with great stakes, for that they could not make any bridges

of

off stone or wood. The bridge which is at this day vp, on the current of the great lake *Chiquitto* in *Collao* is admirable, for the course of that water is so deep, as they can not settle any foundation, and so broad, that it is impossible to make an arch to passe it: so as it was altogether impossible to make a bridge eyther of wood or stone. But the wit and industry of the *Indians* invented a meanes to make a firme and assured bridge, being only of strawe, which seemeth fabulous; yet is it very true: For as we have said before, they did binde together certaine bundles of reedes, and weedes, which do grow in the lake that they call *Torora*, and being a light matter that sinkes not in the water, they cast it vppon a great quantity of reedes, then having tyed those bundles of weedes to either side of the river, both men and beasts goe over it with ease: passing over this bridge I have woondered, that of so common and easie a thing, they had made a bridge, better, and more assured than the bridge of boates from *Seville* to *Triane*. I have measured the length of this bridge, and as I remember, it was above three hundred foote; and they say that the depth of this current is very great: and it seemes above, that the water hath no motion, yet they say, that at the bottome it hath a violent and very furious course. And this shall suffice for buildings.

*Of the Inguas revenues, and the order of Tributes
they imposed vpon the Indians.*

CHAP. 15.

THE *Inguas* riches was incomparable, for although no king did inherite the riches and treasure of his predecessor, yet had he at commaund, all the riches of his

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his realmes, aswell silver and gold, as the stuffe of *Chumbi*, and cartell, wherein they abounded, and their greatest riches of all, was their innumerable number of vassalles, which were all imployed as it pleased the King. They brought out of every province what he had chosen for tribute. The *Chicas* sent him sweete and rich woods; the *Lucanas* sent Brancars to carry his Litter; The *Chumbilbicas*, dauncers; and so the other provinces sent him what they had of aboundaunce, besides their generall tribute, wherevnto every one contributed. The Indians that were noted to that end, labored in the mines of golde and silver, which did abound in *Peru*, whom the *Ingua* intainted with all they needed for their expences: and whatsoever they drew of gold and silver, was for him. By this meanes there were so great treasures in this kingdome, as it is the opinion of many, that what fell in the handes of the Spaniardes, (although it were very much) as wee know was it not the tenth part of that which they hid and buried in the ground, the which they could never discover; notwithstanding all the search covetousnesse had taught them. But the greatest wealth of these barbarous people, was, that their vassalles were all slaves, whose labour they vsed at their pleasure: and that which is admirable, they imployed them in such sorte, as it was no servitude vnto them, but rather a pleasing life. But to vnderstand the order of tributes which the Indians payed vnto their Lordes, you must knowe, that when the *Ingua* conquered any citties, he divided all the land into three partes, the first was, for religion and ceremonies, so as the *Pachayachagui*, which is the Creator, and the Sunne, the *Chuquilla*, which is the Thunder, the *Pachamana*, and the dead, and other *Gnacas* and sanctuaries,

aries, had every one their proper lands, the fruits whereof were spoyled and consumed in sacrifices, and in the nourishing of ministers and priests; for there were Indians appoynted for every *Guaca*, and sanctuary, and the greatest parte of this revenue was spent in *Cusco*, where was the vniversall and generall sanctuarie, and the rest in that cittie, where it was gathered: for that after the imitation of *Cusco*, there were in every Citie, *Guacas*, and Oratories of the same order, and with the same functions, which were served after the same manner and ceremonies to that of *Cusco*, which is an admirable thing, and they have found it by prooffe in above a hundred towynes, some of them distant above two hundred leagues from *Cusco*. That which they sowed or reapt vpon their land, was put into houses, as greniers, or store-houses, built for that effect, and this was a great parte of the Tribute which the Indians payed. I can not say how much this parte amounted vnto, for that it was greater in some partes than in other, and in some places it was in a manner all: and this parte was the first they put to profite. The second parte of these lands and inheritances was for the *Inqua*, wherewith he and his housholde were entertained, with his kinsfolks, noblemen, garrisons and souldiers. And therefore it was the greatest portion of these tributes, as it appeareth by the quantity of golde, silver, and other tributes, which were in houses appoynted for that purpose, being longer and larger than those where they keepe the revenues of the *Guacas*. They brought this tribute very carefully to *Cusco*, or vnto such places where it was needefull for the souldiers, and when there was store, that kept it tenne or twelve yeares, vntill a time of necessitie. The Indians tilled and put to profite the *In-*

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guas lands, next to those of the *Guacas*; during which time they lived and were nourished at the charges of the *Ingua*, of the Sunne, or of the *Guacas*, according to the land they laboured. But the olde men, women, and sicke folkes were reserved and exempt from this tribute, and although whatsoever they gathered vpon those lands were for the *Ingua*, the Sunne, or the *Guacas*, yet the property appertayned vnto the *Indians* and their successors. The third parte of these landes were given by the *Ingua* for the comminaltie, and they have not yet discovered, whether this portion were greater, or lesse, than that of the *Ingua* or *Guacas*. It is most certaine they had a care and regarde, it might be sufficient for the nourishment of the people. No particular man possessed any thing proper to himself of this third portion, neither didde the *Indians* ever possesse any, if it were nor by speciall grace from the *Ingua*: & yet might it not be engaged nor divided amongst his heires. They every yeare divided these landes of the comminaltie, in giving to every one, that which was needfull for the nourishment of their persons and families. And as the familie increased or diminished, so did they encrease or decrease his portion, for there were measures appoynted for every person. The *Indians* payed no tribute of that which was apportioned vnto them: For all their tribute was to till and keepe in good order the landes of the *Ingua*, and the *Guacas*, and to lay the fruits thereof in their store-houses. When the yeare was barren, they gave of these fruits thus reserved to the needy, for that there is alwayes superabundance. The *Ingua* did likewise make distribution of the cattell as of the landes, which was to number and divide them; then to appoynt the pastures and limites, for the cattell belonging

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longing to the *Guacas*, and to the *Ingua*, and to everie Towne: and therefore one portion of their revenues was for religion, another for the *Ingua*, & the third for the Indians themselves. The like order was observed among the hunters, being forbidden to take or kill any females. The troupes of the *Inguas* and *Guacas*, were in great numbers and very fruitfull; for this cause they called them *Capaellama*, but those of the common and publike, were few in number and of small valew, and therefore they called them *Bacchallama*. The *Ingua* took great care for the preservation of cattell, for that it hath beene, and is yet, all the wealth of the Countrey, and as it is sayd, they did neither sacrifice any females, nor kill them, neither did they take them when they hunted. If the mangie or the scurvie which they call *Cara-che* take any beast, they were presently commaunded to bury it quicke, lest it should infect others. They did sheare their cattell in their season, and distributed to every one to spinne and weave stufes for the service of his familie. They had searchers to examine if they did employ themselves in these workes, and to punish the negligent. They made stufes of the wooll of the *Inguas* cattell, for him and for his family, one sorte very fine, which they called *Cumbi*, and another grosser, which they likewise called *Abasca*. There was no certaine number of these stufes and garments appointed, but what was delivered to every one. The wooll that remayned was put into the storehouses, whereof the Spaniards found them full, and with all other things necessary for the life of man. There are few men of iudgment but doe admire at so excellent and well settled a government, seeing the Indians (being neyther religious, nor christians) maintained after their manner;

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this perfection, nor to holde any thing proper, and to provide for all their necessities, entertaining with such aboundance matters of religion, and that which concerned their King and Lord.

Of artes and offices which the Indians did exercise.

CHAP. 16.

THe Indians of *Peru* had one perfection, which was, to teach their young children all artes and occupations necessary for the life of man; for that there were no particular trades-men, as amongst vs, taylers, shoemakers, weavers, and the rest, but every one learned what was needefull for their persons and houses; and provided for themselves. All coulede weave and make their garments, and therfore the *Inqua* furnishing them with wooll, gave them clothes. Every man could till the ground, and put it to profite, without hyring of any labourers. All built their owne houses, and the women vnderstoode most, they were not bred vppe in delights, but served their husbands carefully. Other artes and trades which were not ordinary and common for the life of man, had their proper companies and workmen, as goldsmiths, painters, potters, watermen, and players of instruments. There were also weavers and workmen for exquisite workes, which the noblemen vsed: but the common people, as hath beene said, had in their houses all things necessary, having no need to buy. This continues to this day, so as they have no need one of another for things necessary: touching his person and family, as shooes and garments, and for their house, to sowe and reape, and to make yron woorkes, and necessary instruments; the Indians heerein doe imitate

mitate the institutions of the lesse auntient, whereof is intreated in the life of the Fathers. In trueth it is a people not greatly covetous, nor curious, so as they are contented to passe their time quietly, and without doubt, if they made choise of this manner of life, by election, and not by custome or nature, we may say that it was a life of great perfection, being apt to receive the doctrine of the holy Gospel, so contrary an enemy to pride, covetousnes and delights. But the preachers give not alwayes good example, according to the doctrine they preach to the Indians. It is woorthy observation, although the Indians be simple in their manner and habites, yet do we see great diversitie amongst the provinces, especially in the attire of their head, for in some places they carried a long peece of cloth which went often about, in some places a large piece of cloth, which went but once about, in some parts as it were litle morters or hattes, in some others as it were high and round bonets, & some like the bottome of sacks, with a thousand other differences. They had a straight and inviolable lawe, that no man might change the fashion of the garments of his province, although hee went to live in another. This the *Ingua* held to be of great importance for the order and good government of his realme, and they doe observe it to this day, though not with so great a care as they were accustomed.

of the Posts and Chasquis the Indians did use.

CHAP. 17.

THere were many Posts and couriers which the *Ingua* maintained throughout his realme, whom they called *Chasquis*, and they carried commaundements

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to

to the Governours, and returned their advifes and advertisements to the Court. These *Chasquis* were placed at every course, which was a league and a halfe one from another in twoo small houses, where were foure Indians of every country, and they were changed monthly. Having received the packet or message, they ranne with all their force vntill they had delivered it to the other *Chasquis*, such as were to runne, being ready and watchfull. They ranne fifty leagues in a day and night, although the greatest parte of that countrey be very rough. They served also to carry such things as the *Inguas* desired to have with speede. Therefore they had always sea-fish in *Cusco*, of two dayes old or litle more, although it were above a hundred leagues off. Since the Spaniardes entred, they have vsed of these *Chasquis*, in time of seditions whereof there was great need. *Don Martin* the viceroy appoynted ordinary posts at everie foure leagues, to carry and recarry dispatches; which were very necessary in this realme, though they runne not so swiftly as the auntients did, neither are there so many, yet they are well payed, and serve as the ordinaries of *Spaine*, to whom they give letters which they carry foure or five leagues.

Of the iustice, lawes, and punishments which the Inguas have established, and of their mariages. CHAP. 18.

EVEN as such as had done any good service in warre, or in the government of the common-weale were honoured and recompensed with publike charges, with lands given them in proper, with armes and titles of honour, and in marrying wives of the *Inguas* lineage:
Even

Even so they gave severe punishments to such as were disobedient and offenders. They punished murder, theft, and adultery, with death, and such as committed incest with ascendants or descendants in direct line, were likewise punished with death. But they held it no adultery to have many wives or concubines, neither were the women subject to the punishment of death, being found with any other, but onely she that was the true and lawfull wife, with whome they contracted marriage; for they had but one whome they did wed and receive with a particular solemnity and ceremony, which was in this maner: the bridegroom went to the brides house, and led her from thence with him, having first put an *Ottoy* vpon her foote. They call the shoe which they vse in those partes *Ottoy*, being open like to the Franciscan Friars. If the bride were a mayde, her *Ottoy* was of wooll, but if she were not, it was of reedes. All his other wives and concubines did honour and serve this as the lawfull wife, who alone after the decease of her husband caried a mourning weed of blacke, for the space of a yeare; neither did she marry vntill that time were past; and commonly she was younger than her husband. The *Inga* himselfe with his own hand gave this woman to his Governors and captains: and the Governors or *Caciques*, assembled all the yongmen and maydes, in one place of the Citty, where they gave to every one his wife with the aforesaide ceremony, in putting on the *Ottoy*, and in this manner they contracted their marriages. If this woman were found with any other than her husband, shee was punished with death, and the adulterer likewise: and although the husband pardoned them, yet were they punished, although dispensed withall from death. They inflicted

the like punishment on him that did committe incest with his mother, grand-mother, daughter, or grand-child: for it was not prohibited for them to marry together, or to have of their other kinsfolkes for concubines; onely the first degree was defended, neither did they allow the brother to have the company of his sister, wherein they of *Peru* were very much deceived, beleeving that their *Inguas* and noble men might lawfully contract marriage with their sisters, yea by father and mother: for in trueth it hath beene alwayes helde vnlawfull among the Indians, & defended to contract in the first degree; which continued vntill the time of *Topa Inqua Yupangui* father to *Guaynacapa*, and grandfather to *Atahualpa*, at such time as the Spaniards entered *Peru*, for that *Topa Inqua Yupangui*, was the first that brake this custome, marrying with *Mamacello*, his sister by the fathers side, decreeing that the *Inguas* might marry with their sisters by the fathers side, & no other.

This he did, and by that marriage he had *Guaynacapa*, and a daughter called *Coya Cusillimay*: finding himselfe at the poynt of death, hee commaunded his children by father and mother to marry together, and gave permission to the noble men of his country, to marrie with their sisters by the fathers side. And for that this marriage was vnlawful, and against the lawe of nature, God would bring to an end this kingdome of the *Inguas*, during the raigne of *Guascar Inqua*, and *Atahualpa Inqua*, which was the fruite that sprang from this marriage. Whoso will more exactly vnderstand the manner of marriages among the Indians of *Peru*, lette him reade the Treatise *Polo* hath written, at the request of *Don Ieronimo Loaisa* Archbishop of *Kings*: which *Polo* made a very curious search, as he hath doone of divers
other

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other things at the *Indies*. The which importes much to be knowne to avoyde the errour and inconveniences whereinto many fall (which know not which is the lawfull wife or the concubine among the Indians) causing the Indian that is baptized to marry with his concubine, leaving the lawfull wife: thereby also wee may see the small reason some have had, that pretended to say, that wee ought to ratifie the marriage of those that were baptized, although they were brother and sister. The contrary hath beene determined by the provinciall Synode of *Lyma*, with much reason, seeing among the *Indians* themselves this kind of mariage is vnlawful.

*Of the Originall of the Inguas Lords of Peru, with
their Conquests and Victories.*

CHAP. 19.

BY the commandement of *Don Phillip* the Catholike King, they have made the most dilligent and exact search that could be, of the beginning, customes, and priviledges of the *Inguas*, the which was not so perfectly done as was desired: for that the Indians had no written recordes: yet they have recovered that which I shall write, by meanes of their *Quippos* and registers. First there was not in *Peru* in olde time, any King or Lord to whome all obeyed, but they were comminalties, as at this day there be in the realme of *Chille*, and in a maner, in all the Provinces which the Spaniards have conquered in those western *Indies*, except the realme of *Mexico*. You must therefore vnderstand, that they have found three maner of governments at the *Indies*. The first and best, was a Monarchie, as that of the *Inguas*, and of *Motecuma*, although
for

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for the most part they were tyrannous. The second was of Comminalties, where they were governed by the advise and authoritie of many, which are as it were Counsellors. These in time of warre, made choise of a Capitaine, to whome a whole Nation or Province did obey, and in time of peace, every Towne or Comminaltie did rule and governe themselves, having some chiefe men whom the vulgar did respect, and sometimes, (though not often,) some of them assemble together about matters of importance, to consult what they should thinke necessary. The third kinde of government, is altogether barbarous, composed of Indians without law, without King, and without any certaine place of abode, but go in troupes like savage beasts. As farre as I can conceive, the first inhabitants of the *Indies*, were of this kinde, as at this day a great part of the *Bresillians*, *Chiraguanás*, *Chunchos*, *Yscoyngas*, *Pilcocones*, and the greatest part of the *Floridians*, & all the *Chichimaquas* in new *Spaine*. Of this kind the other sort of government by Comminalties was framed, by the industrie and wisedome of some amongst them, in which there is some more order, holding a more staid place, as at this day those of *Auracano*, and of *Teucapellin* in *Chille*, and in the new kingdome of *Grenado*, the *Moscas*, and the *Ottomites* in new *Spaine*: and in all these there is lesse fiercenes and incivilitie, and much more quiet then in the rest. Of this kinde, by the valure and knowledge of some excellent men, grew the other government more mightie and potent, which did institute a Kingdome and Monarchie. It appeares by their registers, that their government hath continued above three hundred yeares, but not fully foure, although their Seigniorie for a long time, was not above five or

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six leagues compasse about the Citty of *Cusco*: their originall and beginning was in the valley of *Cusco*, where by little & little they conquered the lands which we call *Peru*, passing beyond *Quitto*, vnto the river of *Pasto* towards the North, stretching even vnto *Chille*, towards the South, which is almost a thousand leagues in length. It extended in breadth vnto the South sea towards the West, and vnto the great champains which are on the other side of the *Andes*, where at this day is to be seene the Castell which is called the *Pucara* of the *Ingua*, the which is a fortresse built for the defence of the frontire towards the East. The *Inguas* advanced no farther on that side, for the aboundance of water, marshes, lakes, and rivers, which runne in those partes. These *Inguas* passed all the other Nations of *Amarica*, in pollicy and government, and much more in valour and armes, although the *Canaries* which were their mortall enemies, and favoured the Spaniardes, would never confesse it, nor yeelde them this advantage: so as even at this day, if they fall into any discourse or comparisons, and that they be a little chafed and incensed, they kill one another by thousands vpon this quarrell; which are the most valiant, as it hath happened in *Cusco*. The practise and meanes which the *Inguas* had to make themselves Lords of all this Countrie, was in faining that since the generall deluge, (whereof all the Indians have knowledge,) the world had bene preserved, restored, and peopled by these *Inguas*, and that seven of them came forth of the cave of *Pacaricambo*, by reason whereof, all other men ought them tribute and vassalage, as their progenitors. Besides they said and affirmed, that they alone held the true religion, and knew how God should be served and honoured:

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honoured; and for this cause they should instruct all men. It is a strange thing, the ground they give to their customes and ceremonies. There were in *Cusco* above foure hundred Oratories, as in a holy land, and all places were filled with their mysteries. As they continued in the conquests of Provinces, so they brought in the like ceremonies and customes. In all this realme the chiefe idolls they did worship, were *Viracocha*, *Pachayachac*, which signifies the Creator of the world, and after him, the Sunne. And therefore they said, that the Sunne received his vertue and being from the Creator, as the other idolls do, and that they were intercessors to him.

Of the first Ingua, and his Successors.

CHAP. 20.

THe first man which the Indians report to be the beginning and first of the *Inguas*, was *Mangocapa*, whom they imagine, after the deluge, to have issued forth of the cave of *Tambo*, which is from *Cusco* about five or six leagues. They say that he gave beginning to two principall races or families of the *Inguas*, the one was called *Hanancusco*, and the other *Vrincusco*: of the first came the Lords which subdued and governed this Province, and the first whom they make the head and steame of this family, was called *Ingaroca*, who founded a family or *Aillo*, as they call them, named *Vicaquirao*. This although he were no great Lord, was served notwithstanding in vessell of gold and silver. And dying, he appointed that all his treasure should be employed for the service of his body, and for the feeding of his family. His successor did the like; and this

grew

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grew to a generall custome, as I have said, that no *Inguar* might inherite the goods and house of his predecessor, but did build a new pallace. In the time of this *Inguaraca*, the Indians had images of gold; and to him succeeded *Yaguarguaque*, a very old man: they say, he was called by this name, which signifies teares of blood, for that being once vanquished and taken by his enemies, for griefe and sorrow he wept blood. Hee was buried in a village called *Paullo*, which is vpon the way to *Omasugo*: he founded a family called *Aocuilidanaca*. To him succeeded his sonne *Viracocha Inguar*, who was very rich, and made much vessell of gold and silver: hee founded the linage or family of *Cocopanaca*. *Gonzales Pizarre* sought out his body, for the report of the great treasure was buried with him, who after he had cruelly tormented many Indians, in the end he found it in *Xaquixaguana*, whereas they said *Pizarre* was afterwards vanquished, taken, and executed by the President *Gusca*. *Gonzales Pizarre*, caused the body of *Viracocha Inguar* to be burnt; the Indians did afterwardestake the ashes, the which they preserved in a small vessell, making great sacrifices therevnto, vntill *Pollo* did reforme it, and other idolatries which they committed vpon the bodies of their other *Inguas*, the which hee suppressed with an admirable diligence and dexterity, drawing these bodies out of their hands, being whole, and much imbalmed, whereby he extinguished a great number of idolatries which they committed. The Indians tooke it ill, that the *Inguar* did intitle himselfe *Viracocha*, which is the name of their God: and he to excuse himselfe, gave them to vnderstand, that the same *Viracocha* appeared to him in his dreame, commanding him to take this name. To him succeeded *Pachacuti*

Inguar

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Ingua Yupangui, who was a very valiant conquerour, a great Polititian, and an inventor of a great part of the traditions and superstitions of their idolatrie, as I will presently shew.

Of Pachacuti Ingua, Yupangui, and what happened in his time vnto Guaynacapa.

CHAP. 21.

P*achacuti Ingua Yupangui*, reigned seventy yeares, and conquered many Countries. The beginning of his conquests, was by meanes of his eldest brother, who having held the government in his fathers time, and made warre by his consent, was over-throwne in a battle against the *Changuas*, a Nation which inhabites the valley of *Andaguayllas*, thirty or forty leagues from *Cusco*, vpon the way to *Lima*. This elder brother thus defeated, retyned himselfe with few men. The which *Ingua Yupangui*, his yonger brother seeing, deuised and gave forth, that being one day alone and melancholie, *Viracocha* the Creator spake to him, complaining, that though he were vniuersall Lord and Creator of all things, and that hee had made the heaven, the Sunne, the world, and men, and that all was vnder his command, yet did they not yeelde him the obedience they ought, but contrariwise did equally honour and worship the Sunne, Thunder, Earth, and other things, which had no virtue but what he imparted vnto them: giving him to vnderstand, that in heaven where hee was, they called him *Viracocha Pachayachachic*, which signifieth vniuersall Creator; and to the end the Indians might beleeve it to be true, he doubted not althogh he were alone, to raise men vnder this title, which should

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should give him victory against the *Changuas*, although they were then victorious, and in great numbers; and make him selfe Lord of those realmes, for that he would send him men to his aide invisibly, whereby he prevailed in such sort, that vnder this colour and conceit, hee beganne to assemble a great number of people, whereof he made a mighty armie, with the which he obtained the victorie, making him selfe Lord of the whole Realme, taking the government from his father and brother. Then afterwarde he conquered and overthrew the *Changuas*, and from that time commanded that *Viracocha* should be held for vniversall Lord, and that the images of the Sunne and Thunder, should do him reverence and honour: And from that time they beganne to set the image of *Viracocha* above that of the Sunne and Thunder, and the rest of the *Guacas*. And although this *Ingua Yupangui* had given farmes, landes, and cartell to the Sunne, Thunder, and other *Guacas*, yet did he not dedicate any thing to *Viracocha*, saying, that he had no neede, being vniversall Lord and Creator of all things. He informed his souldiers after this absolute victory of the *Changuas*, that it was not they alone that had conquered them, but certaine bearded men, whome *Viracocha* had sent him, and that no man might see them but him selfe, which were since converted into stones; it was therefore necessary to seeke them out, whome he would know well. By this meanes hee gathered together a multitude of stones in the mountaines, whereof he made choice, placing them for *Guacas*, or Idolls they worshipped and sacrificed vnto; they called them *Pnruraucas*, and carried them to the warre with great devotion, beleeeving for certaine, that they had gotten the victory by their help. The imagination
and

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and fiction of this *Ingua* was of such force, that by the means thereof hee obtained goodly victories: He founded the family called *Ynacapanaca*, and made a great image of golde, which hee called *Indijllapa*, which hee placed in a brancard of golde; very rich, and of great price, of the which gold the Indians tooke great store to carry to *Xaxamalca*, for the libertie and ransome of *Atahulpa*, when the Marquise *Francis Pizarre* held him prisoner. The Licentiate *Polo* found in his house in *Cusco*, his servants and *Mamacomas*, which did service to his memorie, and found that the body had beene transported from *Patallacta* to *Totocache*, where the Spaniards have since founded the parish of Saint *Blaise*. This body was so whole and preserved with a certaine rosin, that it seemed alive, he had his eyes made of a fine cloth of golde, so artificially set, as they seemed very naturall eyes, he had a blowe with a stone on the head, which he had received in the warres, he was all grey and hairy, having lost no more haire than if hee had died but the same day; although it were seaventy and eight yeares since his decease. The foresaid *Polo* sent this body with some others of the *Inguas*, to the cittie of *Lima*, by the viceroyes commaund which was the Marquise of *Cannette*, and the which was very necessary to root out the idolatry of *Cusco*. Many Spaniards have seene this body with others in the hospitall of Saint *Andrew*, which the Marquise built, but they were much decayed. *Don Phillip Caritopa*, who was grand-childe or great grand-childe to this *Ingua*, affirmed that the treasure hee left to his family was great, which should be in the power of the *Yanaconas*, *Amaro*, *Toto*, and others. To this *Ingua* succeeded *Topainga Tupangui*, to whom his son of the same name succeeded, who founded the family called *Cupac Aiko*.

of

of the greatest and most famous Ingua called Guaynacapa.

CHAP. 22.

TO this latter *Ingua* succeeded *Guaynacapa*, which is to say, a yoong man, rich and valiant, and so was he in trueth more than any of his predecessors, or successors. Hee was very wise, planting good orders thoroughout his whole realme, hee was a bold and resolute man, valiant, and very happy in warre. Hee therefore obtained great victories, and extended his dominions much farther then all his predecessors had done before him; he died in the realme of *Quito*, the which he had conquered, foure hundred leagues distant from his court. The Indians opened him after his decease, leaving his heart and entrailles in *Quito*, the body was carried to *Cusco*, the which was placed in the renowned temple of the Sunne. We see yet to this day many cawseies, buildings, fortresses, and notable workes of this king: hee founded the familie of *Teme Bamba*. This *Guaynacapa* was worshipped of his subiects for a god, being yet alive, as the olde men affirme, which was not doone to any of his predecessors. When he died, they slew a thousand persons of his houtholde, to serve him in the other life, all which died willingly for his service; insomuch that many of them offered themselves to death, besides such as were appoynted: his riches and treasure was admirable. And forasmuch as the Spaniards entred soone after his death, the Indians laboured much to conceale all, although a great parte thereof was carried to *Xaxamalca*, for the ranfome of *Atahulpa* his sonne. Some woorthy of credite affirme that he hadde above three hundred sonnes and grand-

children in *Cusco*. His mother called *Mamaella* was much esteemed amongst them. *Polo* sent hir body with that of *Guaynacapa* very well imbalmed to *Lima*, rooting out infinite idolatries. To *Guaynacapa* succeeded in *Cusco* a sonne of his called *Tiucusigualpa*, who since was called *Guaspar Ingua*, his body was burned by the captaines of *Atahulpa*, who was likewise sonne to *Guaynacapa*, and rebelled in *Quitto* against his brother, marching against him with a mighty armie. It happened that *Quisquits* and *Chilicuchi* captains to *Atahulpa*, took *Guaspar Ingua* in the cittie of *Cusco*, being received for Lord and king (for that hee was the lawfull successor) which caused great sorrowe throughout all his kingdom, especially in his Court. And as alwayes in their necessities they had recourse to sacrifices, finding themselves vnable to set their Lord at libertie, aswell for the great power the captaines had that tooke him, as also, for the great army that came with *Atahulpa*, they resolved (some say by the commaundement of this *Ingua*) to make a great and solemne sacrifice to *Viracocha Pachayachachic*, which signifieth vniversall Creator, desiring him, that since they could not deliver their Lord, he would send men from heaven to deliver him from prison. And as they were in this great hope, vpon their sacrifice, news came to them, that a certaine people come by sea, was landed, and had taken *Atahulpa* prisoner. Heerevpon they called the Spaniards *Viracochas*, beleeving they were men sent from God, aswell for the small number they were to take *Atahulpa* in *Xaxamalca*, as also, for that it chaunced after their sacrifice done to *Viracocha*, and thereby they began to call the Spaniards *Viracochas*, as they doe at this day. And in truth, if we had given them good example, and such

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as we ought, these Indians had well applied it, in saying they were men sent from God. It is a thing very well worthy of consideration, how the greatnesse and providence of God, disposed of the entry of our men at *Peru*, which had beene impossible; were not the dissention of the two brethren and their partisans, and the great opinion they hadde of christians, as of men sent from heaven, bound (by the taking of the Indians countrey) to labour to winne soules vnto Almighty God.

Of the last Successowas Inguas. CHAP. 23.

THE rest of this subject is handled at large by the Spanish Writers in the histories of the *Indies*; and for that it is not my purpose, I will speake only of the succession of the *Inguas*. *Atahulpa* being dead in *Xaxamalca*, and *Guascar* in *Cusco*, and *Francis Pizarre* with his people having seised on the realme, *Mangocapa* sonne to *Guaynacapa* besieged them in *Cusco* very straightly: but in the end he abandoned the whole Countrey, and retired himselfe to *Vilca Bamba*, where he kept himselfe in the mountaines, by reason of the rough and difficult acceffe, and there the successors *Inguas* remained, vntill *Amaro*, who was taken and executed in the market place of *Cusco*, to the Indians incredible grieve and sorrow, seeing iustice doone vpon him publicquely whome they helde for their Lorde. After which time, they imprisoned others of the lineage of these *Inguas*. I have knowne *Don Charles* grand-childe to *Guaynacapa*, and son to *Polo*, who was baptized, and alwayes favoured the Spaniards against *Mangocapa* his brother, when the Marquise of *Cantile* governed in this Countrey,

Sarritopainqua, went from *Vileabamba*, and came vpon assurance to the city of *Kings*, where there was given to him the valley of *Yucay*, and other things, to whom succeeded a daughter of his. Beholde the succession which is knowne at this day of that great and rich familie of the *Inguas*, whose raigne continued above three hundred yeeres, wherein they reckon eleaven successors, vntill it was wholly extinguished. In the other lineage of *Vrinusco*, which (as we have said before) had his beginning likewise from the first *Mangocapa*, they reckon eight successors in this sort: To *Mangocapa* succeeded *Cinchoraca*, to him *Capac Yupangui*, to him *Lluqui Yupangui*, to him *Maytaca paesi Tarcogumam*, vnto whome succeeded his sonne, whome they name not, to this son succeeded *Don Jean Tambo*, *Maytapanaga*. This sufficeth for the originall and succession of the *Inguas*, that governed the land of *Peru*, with that that I have spoken of their Lawes Governement, and manner of life.

Of the manner of the Mexicaines common-weale.

CHAP. 24.

ALthough you may see by the historie which shalbe written of the kingdome, succession, & beginning of the Mexicaines, their maner of commonweale and government, yet will I speake briefly what I shall thinke fitte in generall to be most observed: Whereof I will discourse more amply in the historie. The first point whereby we may iudge the Mexicaine government to be very politike, is the order they had and kept inviolable in the election of their king: for since their first, called *Acamapach*, vnto their last, which was *Mote-*

cuima,

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uma, the second of that name; there came none to the crowne by right of succession; but by a lawfull nomination and election. This election in the beginning was by the voyce of the commons, although the chiefe men managed it. Since in the time of *Iscalt* the fourth king, by the advise and order of a wise and valiant man, called *Tlacael*, there were foure certayne Electours appointed, which (with two lordes or kings subiect to the Mexicaine, the one of *Tescuco*, and the other of *Tucuba*) had power to make this election. They did commonly choose yoongmen for their kings, because they went alwayes to the warres, and this was in a manner the chiefe cause why they desired them so. They had a speciall regard that they shoulde be fit for the warres, and take delight and glory therein. After the election they made two kindes of feasts, the one in taking possession of the royall estate, for the which they went to the Temple, making great ceremonies and sacrifices vpon the harth, called Divine, where there was a continuall fire before the Altare of the idoll, and after some Rhetoricians practised therein, made many Orations and Speeches. The other feast, and the most solempne, was at his coronation, for the which he must first overcome in battell, and bring a certaine number of captives, which they must sacrifice to their gods; he entred in triumph with great pompe, making him a solempne reception, as well they of the Temple, who went all in procession, sounding on sundry sortes of instruments, giving incense, and singing like Secular men, as also the Courtiers, who came forth with their devises to receive the victorious king. The Crowne or royall ensigne was before like to a Myter, and behinde it was cut, so as it was not round, for the fore parte

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was higher, and did rise like a poynt. The king of *Tescuco* had the privilege to crown the king of *Mexico*. The Mexicaines have beene very duetifull and loyall vnto their kings: and, it hath not beene knowne that they have practised any treason against them; onely their Histories report, that they sought to poison their king called *Ticocic*, being a coward, and of small account: but it is not found that there hath beene any dissensions or partialities amongst them for ambition, thogh it be an ordinary thing in Comminalties: but contrariwise they reporte, as you shall see heereafter, that a man, the best of the Mexicaines, refused this realme, seeming vnto him to be very expedient for the Common-weale to have an other king. In the beginning when the Mexicaines were but poore and weake, the kings were very moderate in their expenses and in their Court, but as they increased in power, they increased likewise in pompe and state, vntill they came to the greatnesse of *Moteczuma*, who if hee had had no other thing but his house of beasts and birds, it had beene a prowde thing, the like whereof hath not beene seene: for there was in this house all sortes of fish, birds of *Xacamamas*, and beasts, as in an other *Noahs* Arke; for sea fish, there were pooles of salt water, and for river fish, lakes of fresh water, birds that do prey were fedde, and likewise wilde beasts in great aboundance: there were very many Indians imployed for the keeping of these beasts: and when he found an impossibilitie to nourish any sort of fish, fowle, or wilde beast, hee caused the image or likenesse to be made, richly cutte in pretious stones, silver, or golde, in marble, or in stone: and for all sortes of entertainements, hee had his severall houses and pallaces, some of pleasure, others of sorrowe and

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and mourning, and others to treat of the affairs of the realme. There was in this pallace many chambers, according to the qualitie of noble men that served him, with a strange order and distinction.

Of the titles and dignities the Indians used.

CHAP. 25.

THE Mexicaines have beene very curious, to divide the degrees and dignities amongst the Noble men and Lords, that they might distinguish them to whom they were to give the greatest honour. The dignity of these foure Electors was the greatest, and most honorable, next to the king, and they were chosen presently after the kings election. They were commonly brothers, or very neare kinsmen to the king, and were called *Tlatohecalcatl*, which signifies prince of darts, the which they cast, being a kind of armes they vse much. The next dignitie to this, were those they doe call *Tlacatecatl*, which is to say, circumcisers or cutters of men. The third dignitie were of those which they called *Euahualcatl*, which signifies a header of blood. All the which Titles and Dignities were exercised by men of warre. There was another a fourth intituled, *Tlilancalqui*, which is as much to say, as Lord of the blacke house, or of darkenesse, by reason of certaine incke wherewith the Priests annoynted themselves, and did serve in their idolatries. All these foure dignities were of the great Counsell, without whose advise the king might not doe any thing of importance: and the king being dead, they were to choose another in his place out of one of those foure dignities. Besides these, there were other Counsells and Audiences, and some say

there were as many as in *Spaine*, and that there were divers seates and iurisdicktions, with their Counsellers and Iudges of the Court, and others that were vnder them, as *Corrigidors*, chiefe Iudges, captaines of Iustice, Lieutenants, and others, which were yet inferiour to these, with a very goodly order. All which depended on the foure first Princes that assisted the king. These foure onely had authoritie and power to condemne to death, and the rest sent them instructions of the sentences they had given. By meanes whereof they gave the king to vnderstand what had passed in his Realme.

There was a good order and settled policie for the revenues of the Crowne, for there were officers divided throughout all the provinces, as Receivers and Treasurers, which received the Tributes and royall renewes. And they carried the Tribute to the Court, at the least every moneth; which Tribute was of all things that doe growe or ingender on the land, or in the water, as well of iewells and apparrell, as of meat. They were very carefull for the well ordering of that which concerned their religion, superstition, and idolatries: and for this occasion there were a great number of Ministers, to whom charge was given to teach the people the custome and ceremonies of their Lawe. Heerevppon one day a christian Priest made his complaint that the Indians were no good Christians, and did not profite in the lawe of God; an olde Indian answered him very well to the purpose in these termes: *Let the Priest* (saide hee) *employ as much care and diligence to make the Indians christians, as the ministers of Idolles did to teach them their ceremonies; for with halfe that care they will make vs the best christians in the worlde, for that the lawe of Iesus Christ is much better; but the Indians*

learne

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learne it not , for want of men to instruct them . Wherein hee spake the very trueth, to our great shame and confusion.

*How the Mexicaines made Warre, and of their Orders of
Knighthood* CHAP. 26.

THe Mexicaines gave the first place of honour to the profession of armes, and therefore the Noble-men are their chiefe souldiers, and others that were not noble, by their valour and reputation gotten in warres, came to dignities and honours, so as they were held for noblemen. They gave goodly recompences to such as had done valiantly, who inioyed priviledges that none else might have, the which did much encourage them. Their armes were of rasors of sharpe cutting flints, which they set on either side of a staffe, which was so furious a weapon, as they affirmed that with one blow, they would cut off the necke of a horse. They had strange and heavy clubbes, lances, fashioned like pikes, and other maner of dartes to cast, wherein they were very expert; but the greatest part of their combate was performed with stones. For defensive armes they had little rondaches or targets; and some kind of morions or head-peece invironed with feathers. They were clad in the skinnies of Tigres, Lions, and other sauage beasts. They came presently to hands with the enemy, and were greatly practised to runne and wrestle, for their chiefe maner of combate, was not so much to kill, as to take captives, the which they vsed in their sacrifices, as hath beene saide. *Moteczuma* set Knighthood in his highest splendor, ordaining certaine militarie orders, as Commanders, with certaine markes and

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and ensignes. The most honourable amongst the Knights, were those that carried the Crowne of their haire, tied with a little red ribband, having a rich plume of feathers, from the which, did hang branches of feathers vpon their shoulders, & roules of the same. They carried so many of these rowles, as they had done worthy deedes in warre. The King himselfe was of this order, as may be seene in *Chapultepec*, where *Motēcuma* and his sonnes were attyred with those kindes of feathers, cut in the rocke, the which is worthy the sight. There was another order of Knighthood, which they called the Lions and the Tigres, the which were commonly the most valiant and most noted in warre, they went alwaies with their markes and armories. There were other Knightes, as the grey Knightes, the which were not so much respected as the rest: they had their haire cut round about the eare. They went to the war with markes like to the other Knightes; yet they were not armed, but to the girdle, and the most honourable were armed all over. All Knightes might carry golde and silver, and weare rich cotton, vse painted and gilt vessell, and carry shooes after their maner: but the common people might vse none but earthen vessell, neither might they carry shooes, nor attyre themselves but in *Nequen*, the which is a grosse stufte. Every order of these Knightes had his lodging in the pallace noted with their markes; the first was called the Princes lodging, the second of Eagles, the third of Lions and Tigres, and the fourth of the grey Knightes. The other common officers, were lodged vnderneath in meaner lodgings: if any one lodged out of his place, he suffered death.

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*Of the great order and dilligence the Mexicaines
used to instruct their youth.*

CHAP. 27.

Here is nothing that gives me more cause to admire, nor that I finde more worthy of commendations and memory, then the order and care the *Mexicaines* had to nourish their youth: for they knew well, that all the good hope of a common-weale, consisted in the nurture and institution of youth, whereof *Plato* treates amply in his bookes *De Legibus*: and for this reason they laboured and tooke paines to sequester their children from delights and liberties, (which are the two plagues of this age,) imploying them in honest and profitable exercises. For this cause there was in their Temples, a private house for children, as schooles, or colledges, which was seperate from that of the yong men and maides of the Temple, whereof we have discoursed at large. There were in these schooles a great number of children, whom their fathers did willingly bring thither, and which had teachers and masters to instruct them in all commendable exercises, to be of good behaviour, to respect their superiors, to serve and obey them, giving them to this end, certaine precepts and instructions. And to the end they might be pleasing to Noblemen, they taught them to sing and dance, and did practise them in the exercise of warre; some to shoote an arrow, to cast a dart or a staffe burnt at the end, and to handle well a target and a sword. They suffered them not to sleepe much, to the end they might accustome themselves to labour in their youth, and were not men given to delights.

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delightes. Besides the ordinary number of these children, there were in the same colledges, other children of Lordes and Noblemen, the which were instructed more privately. They brought them their meate and ordinary from their houses, and were recommended to antients and old men to have care over them, who continually did advise them to be vertuous and to live chastely, to be sober in their diet, to fast, and to march gravely, and with measure. They were accustomed to exercise them to travell, and in laborious exercises: and when they see them instructed in all these things, they did carefully looke into their inclination: if they found any one addicted to the war, being of sufficient yeares, they sought all occasions to make triall of them, sending them to the warre, vnder colour to carry victualls and munition to the souldiers, to the end they might there see what passed, and the labour they suffered. And that they might abandon all feare, they were laden with heavy burthens, that shewing their courage therein, they might more easily be admitted into the company of souldiers. By this meanes it happened, that many went laden to the Armie, and returned Captaines with markes of honour. Some of them were so desirous to bee noted, as they were cyther taken, or slaine: and they held it lesse honourable to remaine a prisoner. And therefore they sought rather to be cut in peeces, then to fall captives into their enemies hands. See how Noblemens children that were inclined to the warres were imployed. The others that had their inclination to matters of the Temple; and to speake after our maner, to be Ecclesiastical men, having attained to sufficient yeares, they were drawne out of the colledge, and placed in the temple, in the lodging appointed

appointed for religious men, and then they gave them the orders of Ecclesiasticall men. There had they prelates and masters, to teach them that which concerned their profession, where they should remaine being destined therevnto. These *Mexicaines* tooke great care to bring vp their children: if at this day they would follow this order, in building of houses and colledges for the instruction of youth, without doubt Christianitie should flourish much amongst the Indians. Some godly persons have begunne, and the King with his Counsell have favored it: but for that it is a matter of no profit, they advance little, and proceede coldly. God open our eyes, that we may see it to our shame, seeing that we Christians do not that which the children of darknesses did to their perdition, wherein we forget our duties.

Of the Indians feasts and dances.

CHAP. 28.

Forasmuch as it is a thing which partly dependes of the good government of the Common-weale, to have some plaies and recreations when time serves; it shall not be from the purpose, to relate what the Indians did heerein, especially the *Mexicaines*. We have not discovered any Nation at the *Indies*, that live in communalities, which have not their recreations, in plaies, dances, and exercises of pleasure. At *Peru* I have seene plaies in maner of combats, where the men of both sides were sometimes so chafed, that often their *Paella* (which was the name of this exercise,) fell out to be dangerous. I have also seene divers sortes of dances, wherein they did counterfait and represent certaine trades and offices, as shepheards, laborers, fishers, and hunters,

hunters, and commonly they made all those dances, with a very grave sound and pace: there were other dances and maskes, which they called *Guacones*, whose actions were pure representations of the divell. There were also men that dance on the shoulders one of another, as they do in *Portugall*, the which they call *Paellus*. The greatest part of these dances, were superstitions, and kindes of idolatries: for that they honoured their idolls and *Guacas* in that maner. For this reason the Prelates have laboured to take from them these dances, all they could: but yet they suffer them, for that part of them are but sportes of recreation, for alwaies they dance after their maner. In these dances, they vse sundry sortes of instruments, whereof, some are like flutes, or little *Canons*, others like drummes, and others like cornets: but commonly they sing all with the voyce, and first one or two sing the song, then all the rest answer them. Some of these songs were very wittily composed, contayning histories, and others were full of superstitions, and some were meere follies. Our men that have conversed among them, have laboured to reduce matters of our holy faith to their tunes, the which hath profited well: for that they imploy whole daies to rehearse and sing them, for the great pleasure and content they take in their tunes. They have likewise put our compositions of musicke into their language, as *Odaues*, *Songs*, and *Rondells*, the which they have very aptly turned, and in truth it is a goodly and very necessary meanes to instruct the people. In *Peru*, they commonly called dances, *Tagui*, in other Provinces, *Areittos*, and in *Mexico*, *Mittories*. There hath not beene in any other place, any such curiositie of plaies and dances, as in new *Spaine*, where at this day we see Indians

dians so excellent dancers, as it is admirable. Some dance vpon a cord, some vpon a long and straight stake, in a thousand sundrie sortes, others with the soules of their feete and their hammes, do handle, cast vp and receive againe a very heavy blocke, which seems incredible but in seeing it. They do make many other shewes of their great agilitie, in leaping, vaulting, and tumbling, sometimes bearing a great and heauie burthen, sometimes enduring blowes able to breake a barre of yron. But the most vsuall exercise of recreation among the Mexicaines is the solemne *Mistotte*, and that is a kinde of daunce they held so brave and so honorable that the king himselfe daunced, but not ordinarily, as the king *Don Pedro* of *Arragon* with the Barber of *Valencia*. This daunce or *Mistotte* was commonly made in the Courts of the Temple, and in those of the kings houses, which were more spacious. They did place in the midst of the Court two instruments, one like to a drumme, and the other like a barrell made of one peece, and hollow within, which they set vpon the forme of a man, a beast, or vpon a pillar.

These two instruments were so well accorded together, that they made a good harmony: and with these instruments they made many kinds of Aires, & Songs. They did all sing and dance to the sound and measure of these instruments, with so goodly an order and accord, both of their feete and voices, as it was a pleasant thing to beholde. In these daunces they made two circles or wheelles, the one was in the middest neere to the instruments, wherein the Auntients and Noble men did sing and daunce with a softer and slower motion; and the other was of the rest of the people round about them, but a good distance from the first, where-

vers

in they daunced two and two more lightly, making di-
 verse kindes of pases, with certaine leapes to the mea-
 sure. All which together made a very great circle. They
 attired themselves for these dances with their most pre-
 cious apparrell and iewelless, every one according to his
 abilitie, holding it for a very honorable thing: for this
 cause they learned these daunces from their infancie.
 And although the greatest parte of them were doone
 in honor of their Idolles, yet was it not so instituted, as
 hath bin said, but only as a recreation and pastime for
 the people. Therefore it is not convenient to take them
 quite from the Indians, but they must take good heed
 they mingle not their superstitions amongst them. I
 have seene this *Mittote*, in the court of the Church of
Topetzotlan, a village seaven leagues from Mexico: and
 in my opinion, it was a good thing to busie the Indians
 vpon festivall dayes, seeing they have neede of some
 recreation: and because it is publike, and without the
 prejudice of any other, there is lesse inconvenience,
 than in others which may be done privately by them-
 selves, if they tooke away these. We must therefore con-
 clude, following the counsell of pope Gregory, that it was
 very convenient to leave vnto the Indians, that which
 they have had vsually of custom, so as they be not min-
 gled nor corrupt with their antient errors, & that their
 feasts and pastimes may be to the honor of God and of
 the Saints, whose feasts they celebrate. This may suf-
 fice in generall of the maners and politike custonies of
 the Mexicaines. And as for their beginning, increase,
 and Empire, for that it is an ample matter, and will be
 pleasant to vnderstand from the beginning, we will in-
 treat thereof in the Booke following.



THE
SEVENTH BOOKE
of the Naturall and Morall Hi-
storie of the Indies.

*That it is profitable to vnderstand the actes and gifts of the
Indians, especially of the Mexicaines.*

CHAP. I.



Very History wel written
is profitable to the reader:
For as the Wise man saith,
That which hath bin, is, and *Eccles. 1.*
that which shall be, is that
which hath beene: Humane
things have much resem-
blance in themselves, and
some growe wise by that
which happneth to others.

There is no Nation, how barbarous soever, that have
not something in them, good, and woorthy of com-
mendation; nor Commonweale so well ordered, that
hath not something blame-worthy, and to be control-

K k led.

led . If therefore there were no other fruite in the Historie and Narration of the deedes and gests of the Indians, but this common vilitie, to be a Relation or Historie of things, the which in the effect of truth have happened, it deserveth to be received as a profitable thing, neither ought it to be reiected, for that it concerns the Indians. As we see that those Authors that treat of naturall things, write not onely of generous beasts, notable and rare plants, and of pretious stones, but also of wilde beasts, common hearbs, and base and vulgar stones, for that there is alwayes in them some properties worthy observation. If therefore there were nothing else in this Discourse, but that it is a Historie, and no fables nor fictions, it were no vnwoorthy subiect to be written, or read. There is yet another more particular reason, which is, that wee ought heerein to esteeme that which is woorthy of memorie, both for that it is a Nation little esteemed, and also a subiect different from that of our *Europe*, as these Nations be, wherein wee should take most pleasure and content, to vnderstand the ground of their beginning, their maner of life, with their happy and vnhappy adventures. And this subiect is not onely pleasant and agreeable, but also profitable, especially to such as have the charge to rule and governe them; for the knowledge of their acts invites vs to give credite, and dooth partely teach howe they ought to be intreated: yea it takes away much of that common and foolish contempt wherein they of *Europe* holde them, supposing that those Nations have no feeling of reason. For in trueth wee can not cleere this error better, than by the true report of the actes and deedes of this people. I will therefore as briefly as I can, intreate of the beginning, proceedings and
notable

notable deedes of the Mexicanes, whereby wee may know the time and the disposition that the high God woulde choose, to send vnto these Nations the light of the Gospel of Iesus Christ his only sonne our Lord, whome I beseech to second our small labour, that it may be to the glory of his Divine greatnes, and some profite to these people, to whome hee hath imparted the lawe of his holy gospel.

*Of the ancient Inhabitants of New Spaine, and how the
Navatlacas came thither.* CHAP. 2.

THE ancient and first Inhabitants of those provinces, which wee call *New Spaine*, were men very barbarous and savage, which lived onely by hunting, for this reason they were called *Chichimecas*. They did neither sowe nor till the ground, neither lived they together; for all their exercise was to hunt, wherein they were very expert. They lived in the roughest partes of the mountaines beastlike, without any pollicie, and they went all naked. They hunted wilde beasts, hares, conies, weezles, mowles, wilde cattles, and birdes, yea vncleane beasts, as snakes, lizards, locusts and wormes, whereon they fed, with some hearbs and rootes. They slept in the mountaines, in caves and in bushes, and the wives likewise went a hunting with their husbandes, leaving their yoong children in a little panier of reeds, tied to the boughs of a tree, which desired not to suck vntill they were returned from hunting. They had no superiors, nor did acknowledge or worship any gods, neyther hadde any manner of ceremonies or religion.

There is yet to this day in *New Spaine* of this kinde of people, which live by their bowes and arrowes, the

which are very hurtfull, for that they gather together in troupes to doe mischief, and to robbe: neither can the Spaniards by force or cunning reduce them to any policie or obedience: for having no townes nor places of residence, to fight with them, were properly to hunt after savage beasts, which scatter and hide themselves in the most rough and covered places of the mountaines. Such is their maner of living even to this day, in many Provinces of the *Indies*. In the Bookes *De procuranda Indiorum salute*, they discourse chiefly of this sort of Indians, where it is saide that they are to be constrained and subiected by some honest force, and that it is necessary first to teach them, that they are men, and then to be Christians. Some will say, that those in New *Spaine*, which they call *Otomies*, were of this sort, being commonly poore Indians, inhabiting a rough and barren land, and yet they are in good numbers, and live together with some order, and such as do know them, find them no lesse apt and capable of matters of christian religion, than others which are held to be more rich and better governed. Comming therefore to our subiect, the *Chichimecas* and *Otomies* which were the first inhabitants of New *Spaine*, for that they did neyther till nor sowe the land, they left the best and most fertile of the country vnpeopled, which, Nations that came from farre did possesse, whome they called *Navatalcas*, for that it was a more civill and polittike Nation; this word signifies a people that speaks well, in respect of other barbarous nations without reason. These second peoplers *Navatalcas*, came from other farre countries, which lie toward the north, where now they have discovered a kingdome they call New *Mexico*.

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There are two provinces in this countrey, the one called *Aztlan*, which is to say a place of Herons : the other *Tuculhuacan*, which signifies a land of such, whose grandfathers were divine. The Inhabitants of these provinces have their houses, their lands tilled, gods, customes, and ceremonies, with like order and government to the *Navatalcas*, and are divided into seven Tribes or Nations : and for that they have a custome in this province, that every one of these linages hath his place and private territory. The *Navatalcas* paint their beginning and first territory in figure of a cave, and say that they came forth of seven caves to come and people the land of *Mexico*, whereof they make mention in their Historie, where they paint seven caves and men comming forth of them. By the supputation of their bookes, it is above eight hundred yeeres since these *Navatalcas* came forth of their country, reducing which to our accompt, was about the yeere of our Lord 720. when they left their country to come to *Mexico*, they stayed foure score yeeres vpon the way, and the cause of this their long stay in their voyage, was, that their gods (which without doubt were diuells, and spake visibly vnto them) had perswaded them to seeke new lands that had certaine signes. And therefore they came discovering the whole land, to search for these tokens which their Idolls had given them; and in places where they found any good dwellings, they peopled it, and laboured the land, and as they discovered better countries, they left those which they had first peopled; leaving still some, especially the aged, sicke folkes, and the weary, yea they did plant and build there, whereof we see the remainders at this day. In the way where they passed, they spent fourescore yeeres in this manner of

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leisurely travell, the which they might have done in a moneth. By this meanes they entred the land of *Mexico*, in the yeare nine hundred and two, after our computation.

How the six Linages of Navatlacas peopled the land of Mexico. CHAP. 3.

THESE seven Linages I have spoken of, came not forth all together: the first were the *Suchimilcos*, which signifie a Nation of the seedes of flowers. Those peopled the bankes of the great lake of *Mexico* towards the South, and did build a cittie of their name, and many villages. Long time after came they of the second linage called *Chalcas*, which signifies people of mouthes, who also built a cittie of their name, dividing their limmits and territories with the *Suchimilcos*. The third were the *Tepanecans*, which signifies people of the bridge: they did inhabite vpon the banke of the lake towards the West, and they increased so, as they called the chiefe and Metropolitane of their Province, *Azcapotzalco*, which is to say, an Ants nest, and they continued long time mighty. After them came those that peopled *Tescuco*, which be those of *Culbua*, which is to say, a crooked people: for that in their Countrey there was a mountaine much bending. And in this sort this lake was invironed with these foure Nations, these inhabiting on the East, and the *Tepanecas* on the North. These of *Tescuco*, were held for great Courtiers, for their tongue and pronountiation is very sweete and pleasant. Then arrived the *Tlallucans*, which signifies men of the *Sierre* or mountaine. Those were the most rude and grosse of all the rest, who finding all the plaines

plaines about the lake possessed even vnto the *Sierre*, they passed to the other side of the mountaine, where they found a very fertile, spacious & warme countrey, where they built many great villages, calling the Metropolitane of their province *Quahumachua*, which is as much to say, as a place that founds the voice of an Eagle, which our common people call by corruption, *Quernavaca*, and at this day they call this province, the *Marquisate*. Those of the sixt generation, which are the *Tlascaltecons*, which is to say, men of bread, passed the mountaine towards the east, crossing all the *Sierre*, or mountaine of *Menade*, where that famous *Vulcan* is betwixt *Mexico* and the citty of Angells, where they did finde a good country, making many buildings. They built many townes and citties, whereof the Metropolitane was called by their name *Tlascala*. This is the nation which favoured the Spaniards at their entrie, by whose help they did winne this country, and therefore to this day they pay no tribute, but enioy a generall exemption. When all these Nations peopled these countries, the *Chinchimecons* being the antient inhabitants, made no resistance, but fledde, and as people amazed, they hid themselves in the most obscure of the rockes. But those that inhabited on th'other side of the mountaine where the *Tlascaltecons* had planted themselves, did not suffer them in quiet, as the rest of the *Chichimecons* had done, but they put themselves in defence to preserve their country, and being giants as the Histories report, they sought to expell the last commers, but they were vanquisht by the policy of the *Tlascaltecons*, who counterfetting a peace with them, they invited them to a great banquet, and when they were buisest in their drunkennes, there were some laide in ambush,

who secretly stole away their weapons, which were great clubbes, targets, swords of wood, and other such armes. Then did they sodainely set vpon them, and the *Chichimecas* seeking to defend themselves, they did want their armes, so as they fled to the mountaines and forrests adioyning, where they pulled downe the trees, as if they had beene stalkes of lettices. But in the end, the *Tlascaltecas* being armed, and marching in order, they defeated all the giants, not leaving one alive. We must not holde this of the giants to be strange, or a fable; for at this day we finde dead mens bones of an incredible bignes.

When I was in *Mexico*, in the yeare of our Lorde, one thousand five hundred eighty sixe, they found one of those giants buried in one of our farmes, which we call *Iesus du Mont*, of whom they brought a tooth to be seene, which (without augmenting) was as big as the fist of a man, and according to this, all the rest was proportionable, which I saw and admired at his deformed greatnes. The *Tlascaltecas* by this victory remained peaceable, and so did the rest of the linages. These six linages did alwayes entertaine amitie together, marrying their children one with another, and dividing their limites quietly: then they studied with an emulation to encrease and beautifie their common-weale. The barbarous *Chichimecas*, seeing what passed, beganne to vse some government, and to apparrell themselves, being ashamed of what had passed: for till then they had no shame. And having abandoned feare by their communication with these other people, they beganne to learne many things of them, building small cottages, having some pollicie and government. They did also choose Lordes, whom they did acknowledge for their
superiors,

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superiours, by meanes whereof they did in a manner quite abandon this brutish life, yet did they alwayes continue in the Mountaines divided from the rest.

Notwithstanding I hold it for certaine, that this feare hath growne from other Nations and Provinces of the *Indies*, who at the first were savage men, who living onely by hunting, piercing the rockie and rough countries, discovering a new world, the inhabitants whereof were almost like savage beasts, without coverings or houses, without tilled landes, without cattell, without King, Law, God, or Reason. Since, others seeking better and new lands, inhabited this fertile Countrey, planting polittike order, and a kinde of common-weale, although it were very barbarous. After the same men, or other Nations, that had more vnderstanding then the rest, laboured to subdue and oppresse the lesse mighty, establishing Realmes and great Empires. So it happened in *Mexico*, at *Peru*, and in some partes where they finde Citties and Common-weales planted among these Barbarians. That which confirmes me in my opinion, (whereof I have amply discoursed in the first booke,) that the first inhabitants of the West *Indies* came by land, and so by consequence, that the first continent of the *Indies*, ioynes with that of *Asia*, *Europe*, and *Affrike*, and the new world with the old, although they have not yet discovered any countrey that toucheth and ioynes with the other world, or if there be any sea betwixt the two, it is so narrow, that wilde beasts may easily swim over, and men in small boates. But leaving this Philosophie, let vs returne to our history.

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*Of the Mexicaines departure, of their journey and
peopling the Province of Mechovacan.*

CHAP. 4.

THree hundred and two yeares after the former two linages had left their Country, to inhabite new *Spaine*, the Country being now well peopled, and reduced to some forme of government. Those of the seaventh cave or line arrived, which is the *Mexicaine* Nation, the which like vnto the rest, left the Province of *Aztlan*, and *Teuculhuacan*, a pollitike, courtlike, and warlike Nation. They did worship the idoll *Vitzliputzli*, whereof ample mention hath beene made, and the diuell that was in this idoll spake, and governed this Nation easily. This idoll commanded them to leave their Country, promising to make them Princes and Lords over all the Provinces which the other six Nations did possesse, that hee would give them a land abounding with gold, silver, pretious stones, feathers, and rich mantells: wherevpon they went forth, carrying their idoll with them in a coffer of reedes, supported by foure of their principall priests, with whom he did talke and reveale vnto them in secret, the successe of their way and voyage, advising them of what should happen. He likewise gave them lawes, and taught them the customes, ceremonies, and sacrifices they should observe. They did not advance nor moove without commandement from this idoll. He gave them notice when to march, and when to stay in any place, wherein they wholly obeyed him. The first thing they did wheresoever they came, was to build a house or tabernacle for their false god, which they set alwaies in the midst

middest of their Campe, and there placed the Arke vpon an altare, in the same manner as they have vsed in the holy Christian Church. This done, they sowed their land for bread and pulses, which they vsed: and they were so addicted to the obedience of their god, that if he commanded them to gather, they gathered, but if he commanded them to raise their campe, all was left there for the nourishment of the aged, sicke, and wearie, which they left purposely from place to place, that they might people it, pretending by this meanes, that all the land should remaine inhabited by their Nation. This going forth and peregrination of the *Mexicaines*, will happily seeme like to that of *Egypt*, and to the way which the children of *Israell* made, seeing that they, as well as those, were warned to go forth, and to seeke the land of promise, and both the one, and the other, carried their god for their guide, consulted with the arke, and made him a tabernacle, and he advised them, giving them lawes and ceremonies, and both the one, and the other, spake many yeares in their voyage to their promised land, where we observe the resemblance of many other things, as the histories of the *Mexicaines* do report, and the holy scripture testifie of the *Israelites*. And without doubt it is a true thing, that the Divell the prince of pride, hath laboured by the superstitions of this Nation, to counterfaite & imitate that which the most high God did with this Nation: for as is said before, Satan hath a strange desire to compare and make himselfe equal with God: so as this mortall enemy hath pretended falsely to vsurpe what communication and familiaritie he hath pleased with men. Was there ever divell found so familiarly conversant with men, as this divell *Vitzliputzli*: We may wel iudge what

what he was, for that there was never seene nor heard speake of customes more superstitious, nor sacrifices more cruel and inhumane, then those which he taught them. To conclude, they were invented by the enemy of mankind. The chiefe and Captaine whome they followed, was called *Mexi*, whence came the name of *Mexico*, & of the *Mexicaine* Nation. This people marching thus at leisure, as the other six Nations had done, peopling and tilling the land in divers partes, whereof there is yet some shewes & ruines: & after they had endured many travells and dangers, in the end they came to the Province of *Mechovacan*, which is as much to say, as a land of fish, for there is great abundance in goodly great lakes, where contenting themselves with the situation and temperature of the ground, they resolved to stay there. Yet having consulted with their idoll vpon this point, and finding him vnwilling, they demanded license to leave some of their men to people so good a land, the which he granted, teaching them the meanes how to do it, which was, that when the men and women should be entred into a goodly lake called *Pascuaro*, to bathe themselves, those which remained on land, should steale away all their clothes, and then secretly raise their campe, and depart without any bruite, the which was effected, and the rest which dreamt not of this deceit, (for the pleasure they tooke in bathing,) comming forth and finding themselves spoiled of their garments, and thus mocked and left by their companions, they remained discontented and vexed therewith: so as to make shew of the hatred they had conceived against them, they say that they changed their maner of life and their language. At the least it is most certaine, that the *Mechovacans* have been alwaies

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alwaies enemies to the *Mexicaines*, and therefore they came to congratulate the Marquise *De Valle*, after his victory obtained when he had conquered *Mexico*.

Of that which happened in Malinalco, Tula, and in Chapultépec. CHAP. 5.

FROM *Mechovacan* to *Mexico*, are above fifty leagues, and vpon the way is *Malinalco*, where it happened, that complaining to their idoll of a woman that was a notable witch, which came in their company carrying the name of their sister to their god, for that with her wicked artes she did them much harme, pretending by certaine meanes to be worshipped of them as their goddesse: the idoll spake in a dreame to one of those old men that carried the arke, commaunding him to comfort the people, making them new and great promises, and that they should leave this his sister with her family, being cruell and bad, raising their campe at mid-night in great silence, leaving no shew what way they passed. So they did, and the witch remaining alone with her family, in this sort peopled a towne which they call *Malinalco*, the inhabitants whereof, are held for great forcerers, being issued from such a mother. The *Mexicaines* for that they were greatly diminished by these divisions, and by the number of sicke & wearied persons, which they had left behind, meant to repaire themselves, and to stay in a place called *Tula*, which signifies a place of reedes. There their idoll commanded them to stoppe a great river, that it might cover a great plaine, and by the meanes he taught them, they did inviron a little hill called *Contepec*, making a great lake, the which they did plant round about with willowes,

willows, elmes, sapines and other trees. There beganne to breede much fish, and many birdes came thither: so as it became a very pleasant place. The scituation of this place, seeming pleasant vnto them, and being wearied with travell, many talked of peopling there, and to passe no farther: wherewith the divell was much displeased, threatening the priests with death, commanding them to returne the river to hir course, saying that he would that night chastise those which had beene disobedient as they had deserved. And as to do ill is proper to the Divell, and that the divine Iustice doth often suffer such to be delivered into the hands of such a tormentor, that choose him for their god; It chanced that about mid-night they heard a great noise in one part of the campe, and in the morning going thither, they found those dead that had talked of staying there. The maner of their death, was, that their stomackes were opened, and their hearts pulled out. And by that meanes, this good god taught these poore miserable creatures, the kindes of sacrifices that pleased him, which was, in opening the stomacke, to pull out the heart, as they have since practised in their horrible sacrifices. Seeing this punishment, and that the plaine was dried, the lake being emptied, they asked counsell of their god what to doe, who commanded them to passe on, the which they did by little and little, vntill they came to *Chapultepec*, a league from *Mexico*, famous for the pleasantnes thereof. They did fortifie themselves in these mountaines, fearing the Nations which inhabited that Country, the which were opposite vnto them, especially for that one named *Copill*, sonne to this forcereffe, left in *Malinalco*, had blamed and spoken ill of the *Mexicaines*: for this *Copill* by the commandment

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ment of his mother, awhile after followed the *Mexicaines* course, labouring to incense the *Tapanecas*, and other neighbours against them, even vnto the *Chalcas*: so as they came with a strong army to destroy the *Mexicaines*. *Copill* in the meane space stoode vpon a little hill in the midst of a lake called *Acopilco*, attending the destruction of his enemies, and they by the aduise of their idoll, went against him, tooke him suddenly, and slew him, carrying his heart to their god, who commanded them to cast it into the lake, faining that thereof did grow a plant called *Tunal*, where since *Mexico* was built. They came to fight with the *Chalcas*, and other Nations, having chosen for their Captaine, a valiant man called *Vitzilomilti*, who in an encounter, was taken and slaine by the enemies. But for all this, they were not discouraged, but fought valiantly, and in dispiht of their enemies they brake the squadrons, and carrying their aged, their women, and yong children in the midst of their battaile: they passed on to *Atlacuyavaya*, a towne of the *Culhuas*, whiom they found solemnising of a feast, in which place they fortified. The *Chalcas* nor the other Nations did not follow them, but grieved to be defeated by so small a number of men; they being in so great multitudes, retyred to their townes.

Of the Warres the Mexicaines had against them of

Culhuacan. CHAP. 6.

THE *Mexicaines* by the aduise of their idoll, sent their messengers to the Lord of *Culhuacan*, to demand a place to dwell in, who after he had imparted it to his people, granted them the place of *Ticaapan*, which

which signifies white waters, to the end they should all perish there, being full of vipers, snakes, and other venomous beasts which bred in a hill neere adioyning. But being perswaded and taught by their diuell, they accepted willingly what was offered, and by their diuillish art, tamed these beastes, so as they did them no harme; yea, they vsed them as meat, eating them with delight and appetite. The which the Lord of *Culhuacan* seeing, & that they had tilled and sowed the land, he resolved to receive them into the Cittie, and to contract amity with them. But the god whom the *Mexicaines* did worship, (as he is accustomed to do no good, but ill,) said vnto his priests, that this was not the place where he would have them stay, and that they must go forth making warres. Therefore they must seeke forth a woman, and name her the goddesse of Discord. Wherevpon they resolved to send to the King of *Culhuacan*, to demand his daughter to be Queene of the *Mexicaines*, and mother to their god, who received this Ambassage willingly, sending his daughter presently gorgeously attyred and well accompanied. The same night she arrived, by order of the murtherer whome they worshipped, they killed her cruelly, and having flayed her artificially as they could do, they did clothe a yong man with her skinne, and therevpon her apparel, placing him neere their idoll, dedicating him for a goddesse and the mother of their god, and ever after did worship it, making an idoll which they called *Tecy*, which is to say, our grandmother. Not content with this crueltie, they did maliciously invite the King of *Culhuacan*, the father of the yong maid, to come and worshippe his daughter, who was now consecrated a goddesse, who comming with great presents, and well accom-

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accompanied with his people, he was led into a very darke chappell where their idoll was, that he might offer sacrifice to his daughter that was in that place. But it chanced that the incense that was vpon the harth, according to their custome, kindled in such sort, as hee might discerne his daughters haire, and having by this meanes discovered the crueltie and deceit, hee went forth crying alowde, and with all his men he fell vpon the *Mexicaines*, forcing them to retyre to the lake, so as they were almost drowned. The *Mexicaines* defended themselves, casting certaine little darts, which they vsed in the warres, wherewith they much galled their enemies. But in the end they got land, and leaving that place, they coasted along the lake, very weary and wet; the women and little children crying and making great exclamations against them and their god that had brought them into this distresse. They were inforced to passe a river that could not be waded through, and therefore they advised to make small boates of their targets and of reedes, wherein they passed. Then afterwards, having left *Culhuacan*, they arived at *Iztacalco*, and finally to the place where the hermitage of Saint *Anthonie* now is, at the entry of *Mexico*, and to that quarter which they now call *S. Paul*. During which time their idoll did comfort them in their travells and incorageed them, promising great matters.

Of the Foundation of Mexico.

CHAP. 7.

THE time being now come, that the father of lies should accomplish his promise made to his people, who could no longer suffer so many turnings, travells,

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vells, and dangers, it happened that some old priests or forcerers, being entred into a place full of water-lillies, they met with a very faire and cleere current of water, which seemed to be silver, and looking about, they found the trees, medowes, fish, and all that they beheld to be very white: wondring heereat, they remembred a prophetic of their god, whereby he had given them that for a token of their place of rest, and to make them Lords of other Nations. Then weeping for ioy, they returned to the people with these good newes. The night following, *Vitzliputzli* appeared in a dreame to an antient priest, saying, that they should seeke out a *Tunal* in the lake, which grew out of a stone, (which as he told them, was the same place where by his commandement they had cast the heart of *Copil*, sonne to the forcereffe their enemy,) and vpon this *Tunal* they should see a goodly Eagle, which fed on certaine small birdes. When they should see this, they should beleeeve it was the place where their Cittie should be built, the which shuld surmount al others, & be famous throughout the world. Morning being come, the old man assembled the whole people, from the greatest to the least, making a long speech vnto them, how much they were bound vnto their god, and of the Revelation, which (although vnworthy,) hee had receiued that night, concluding that all must seeke out that happie place which was promised them; which bred such devotion and ioy in them all, that presently they vnder-tooke the enterprise, and dividing themselves into bandes, they beganne to search, following the signes of the revelation of the desired place. Amiddest the thickest of these water-lillies in the lake, they met with the same course of water they had seene the day before,

fore, but much differing, being not white, but red, like blood, the which divided it selfe into two streames, whereof the one was of a very obscure azure, the which bred admiration in them, noting some great mistery as they said. After much search heere and there, the *Tunal* appeared growing on a stone, whereon was a royall Eagle, with the wings displaid towards the Sunne, receiving his heat. About this Eagle were many rich fethers, white, red, yellow, blew, and Greene, of the same sort as they make their images, which Eagle held in his tallants a goodly birde. Those which sawe it and knew it to be the place fore-tolde by the Oracle, fel on their knees, doing great worship to the Eagle, which bowed the head looking on every side. then was their great cries, demonstrations, and thanks vnto the Creator, and to their great god *Vitzliputzli*, who was there father, and had alwaies told them truth. For this reason they called the cittie which they founded there, *Tenōxtitlan*, which signifies *Tunal* on a stone, and to this day they carry in their armes, an Eagle vpon a *Tunal*, with a bird in his tallant, and standing with the other vpon the *Tunal*. The day following, by common consent they made an hermitage adioyning to the *Tunal* of the Eagle, that the Arke of their god might rest there, till they might have meanes to build him a sumptuous Temple: and so they made this hermitage of flagges & turfes covered with straw, then having consulted with their god, they resolved to buy of their neighbours, stone, timber, lime, in exchange of fish, frogges, and yong kids, and for duckes, water-hennes, courlieus, and divers other kindes of sea fowles. All which things they did fish and hunt for in this Lake, whereof there is great abundance. They went with

these things to the markets of the Townes and Citties of the *Tapaneams*, and of them of *Tescuco* their neighbours, and with pollicie they gathered together by little and little, what was necessary for the building of their Cittie: so as they built a better Chappell for their idoll of lime and stone, and laboured to fill vp a great part of the lake with rubbish. This done, the idoll spake one night to one of his priests in these tearmes, *Say vnto the Mexicaines, that the Noblemen divide themselves euerie one with their kinsfolkes and friends, and that they divide themselves into foure principall quarters, about the house which you have built for my rest; and let every quarter build in his quarter at his pleasure.* The which was put in execution: and those be the foure principall quarters of *Mexico*, which are called at this day *S. Iean*, *S. Mary* the round, *S. Paul*, and *S. Sebastian*. After this, the *Mexicaines* being thus divided into these foure quarters, their god commanded them to divide amongst them the gods he should name to them, and that they should give notice to every quarter, principal of the other foure particall quarters, where their gods should be worshipped. So as vnder every one of these foure principall quarters, there were many lesse comprehended, according to the number of the idolls which their god commanded them to worship, which they called *Calpultetco*, which is as much to say, as god of the quarters. In this manner the Cittie of *Mexico Tenoxtiltan* was founded, and grew great.

Of the sedition of those of Tlatelulco, and of the first Kings the Mexicaines did choose. CHAP. 8.

THis diuision being made as afore-said, some old men and Antients held opinion, that in the diuision,

tion, they had not respected them as they deserved: for this cause, they and their kinsfolke, did mutine, and went to seeke another residence: and as they went thorough the lake, they found a small peece of ground or terrasse, which they call *Tloteloli*, where they inhabited, calling it *Tlatellulco*, which signifies place of a terrasse. This was the third division of the Mexicaines, since they left their Country. That of *Mechovacan* being the first, and that of *Malinalco* the second. Those which seperated themselves and went to *Tlatellulco*, were famous men, but of bad disposition: and therefore they practised against the Mexicaines their neighbours, all the ill neighbourhood they could. They had alwaies quarrells against them, and to this day continues their hatred and olde leagues. They of *Tenoxtiltan*, seeing them of *Tlatellulco* thus opposite vnto them, and that they multiplied, feared that in time they might surmount them: heerevpon they assembled in counsell, where they thought it good to choose a King, whome they should obey, and strike terror into their enemies, that by this meanes they should bee more vnited and stronger among themselves, and their enemies not presume too much against them. Being thus resolved to choose a King, they tooke another advise very profitable and assured, to choose none among themselves, for the avoyding of diffentions, and to gaine (by their new King) some other neighbour nations, by whom they were invironed, being destitute of all succours. All well considered, both to pacifie the King of *Culhuacan*, whom they had greatly offended, having slaine and slead the daughter of his predecessor, and done him so great a scorne, as also to have a King of the Mexicaine blood, of which generation there were many

in *Culhuacan*, which continued there since the time they lived in peace amongst them; they resolved to choose for their King, a yong man called *Acamapixtli*, sonne to a great Mexicaine Prince, and of a Ladie; daughter to the King of *Culhuacan*. Presently they sent Ambassadors with a great present to demand this man, who delivered their Ambassage in these tearmes, *Great Lord, we your vassalls and servants; placed and shut up in the weedes and reedes of the Lake, alone and abandoned of all the Nations of the world, led onely and guided by our god to the place where we are, which fallies in the iurisdiction of your limits of Ascapulcalco, and of Tescuco. Although you have suffered vs to live and remaine there, yet will we not, neither is it reason to live without a head and lord to command, correct, and governe us, instructing us in the course of our life, and defending us from our enemies: Therefore we come to you, knowing that in your Court and house, there are children of our generation, linckt and alied with yours, issued from our entrailes, and yours, of our blood and yours, among the which we have knowledge of a grand-child of yours and ours, called Acamapixtli. We beseech you therefore, to give him vs for Lord, we will esteeme him as hee deserves, seeing hee is of the linage of the Lords of Mexico, and the Kings of Culhuacan.*

The king having consulted vpon this poynt, and finding it nothing inconvenient to be alied to the Mexicaines, who were valiant men, made them answer, that they should take his grandchilde in good time, adding therevnto, that if he had beene a woman, hee would not have given her, noting the foule fact before spoken of, ending his discourse with these wordes, *Let my grand-child go to serve your God, and be his lievetenant, to rule and governe his creatures, by whom we live, who is the*

Lord

Lord of night, day, and windes: Let him goe and be Lord of the water and land, and possesse the Mexicaine Nation, take him in good time, and use him as my sonne and grand-child. The Mexicaines gave him thanks, all ioyntly desiring him to marry him with his owne hand, so as he gave him to wife, one of the noblest Ladies amongst them. They conducted the new King and Queene with all honour possible, and made him a solemne reception, going all in generall foorth to see the king, whom they led into pallaces which were then but meane; and having seated them in royall throanes, presently one of the Antients and an Orator much esteemed amongst them, did rise vp, speaking in this manner, *My sonne, our Lord and King, thou art welcome to this poore house and city, amongst these weedes and muddes, where thy poore fathers, grandfathers, and kinsfolkes, endure what it pleaseth the Lord of things created. Remember Lord thou comest hither to be the defence and support of the Mexicaine Nation, and to be the resemblance of our God Vitzliputzli, whereupon the charge and government is given thee. Thou knowest we are not in our country, seeing the land we possesse at this day is anothers, neither know we what shall become of us to morrowe, or another day: Consider therefore that thou comest not to rest or recreate thy selfe, but rather to indure a new charge vnder so heauie a burden: wherein thou must continually labour, being slave to this multitude, which is fallen to thy lotte, and to all this neighbour people, whome thou must strive to gratifie, and give them contentment, seeing thou knowest we live vpon their lands, and within their limites.* And ending, hee repeated these wordes; *Thou art welcome, thou and the Queene our Mistris, to this your realme.* This was the speech of the old man, which with other orations (which the Mexicaine histories do celebrate)

the children did vse to learne by hart, and so they were kept by tradition; some of them deserve well to be reported in their proper termes. The king aunswering, thanked them, and offered them his care and diligence in their defence & aide in all he could. After they gave him the othe, and after their maner set the royall crown vpon his head, the which is like to the Crowne of the dukes of *Venise*: the name of *Acamapixtli* their first king signifies a handfull of reeds, and therefore they carry in their armories a hand holding many arrows of reedes.

*Of the strange tribute the Mexicaines paid to them
of Azcapuzalco. CHAP. 9.*

THE Mexicaines happened so well in the election of their new king, that in short time they grew to have some form of a common-weale, and to be famous among strangers; wherevpon their neighbours moved with feare, practised to subdue them, especially the *Tapanecans*, who had *Azcapuzalco* for their metropolitane city, to whome the Mexicaines payed tribute, as strangers dwelling in their land. For the king of *Azcapuzalco* fearing their power which increased, sought to oppresse the Mexicaines, and having consulted with his subiects, he sent to tel king *Acamapixtli*, that the ordinary tribut they payed was too little, and that from thencefoorth they should bring firre trees, sapines, and willowes for the building of the city, and moreover they shoulde make him a garden in the water planted with diuerse kindes of hearbes and pulses, which they should bring vnto him yearely by water, dressed in this maner, without failing; which if they did not, he declared them his enemies, and would roote them out. The Mexicaines

were

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were much troubled at this commaundement, holding it impossible : and that this demaund was to no other end, but to seeke occasion to ruine them. But their god *Vitziliputzli* comforted them, appearing that night to an olde man, commaunding him to say to the king his sonne in his name, that hee should make no difficultie to accept of this tribute, he would help them and make the meanes easie, which after happened : for the time of tribute being come, the Mexicanes carried the trees that were required, and moreover, a garden made and floating in the water, and in it much Mays, (which is their corne) already grained and in the eare : there was also Indian pepper, beetes, *Tomates*, which is a great sappy and savourie graine, french pease, figges, gourds, and many other things, al ripe, and in their season. Such as have not seene the gardines in the lake of *Mexico*, in the midst of the water, will not beleeye it, but will say it is an inchantment of the Divell whom they worship : But in trueth it is a matter to be done, and there hath beene often seene of these gardens floating in the water, for they cast earth vpon reedes and grasse, in such sort as it never wastes in the water; they sowe and plant this ground, so as the graine growes and ripens very well, and then they remove it from place to place. But it is true, that to make this great garden easly, and to have the fruites grow well, is a thing that makes men iudge there was the worke of *Vitziliputzli*, whome otherwise they call *Patillas*, specially having never made nor seene the like. The king of *Azcapuzalco* wondred much when he sawe that accomplished which he held impossible saying vnto his subiects, that this people had a great god that made all easie vnto them, and hee sayd vnto the Mexicanes, that seeing their God gave them
all

all things perfit, hee would the yeare following, at the time of tribute, they shoulde bring in their gardine a wilde ducke, and a heron, sitting on their egges, in such sorte, that they should hatch their yoong ones as they should arrive, without failing of a minute, vpon paine of his indignation. The Mexicans were much troubled and heavy with this prowde and strict commaunde: but their god, as he was accustomed, comforted them in the night, by one of his priests, saying that he would take all that charge vpon him, willing them not to fear, but beleeve that the day would come, whenas the *Azcapuzalcos* should pay with their lives this desire of new tributes. The time being come, as the Mexicans carried all that was demaunded of their gardins, among the reeds and weeds of the gardin, they found a ducke and a heron hatching their egges, and at the same instant when they arived at *Azcapuzalco* their yong ones were disclosed. Whereat the king of *Azcapuzalco* wondring beyond measure, he said againe to his people, that these were more than humane things, and that the Mexicans beganne as if they would make themselves lordes over all those provinces. Yet did he not diminish the order of this tribute, and the Mexicans finding not themselves mighty enough, endured this subiection and slavery the space of fifty yeeres. In this time the king *Acamapixilli* died; having beautified the City of *Mexico* with many goodly buildings, streets, conduits of water, and great abundance of munition. Hee reigned in peace and rest forty yeeres, having bin alwayes zealous for the good and increase of the common-weale.

As hee drew neare his end, hee did one memorable thing, that having lawfull children to whom he might leave the succession of the realme, yet would he not do it,

it, but contrariwise hee spake freely to the common-weale, that as they had made a free election of him, so they should choose him that should seeme fittest for their good government, advising them therein to have a care to the good of the common-weale, and seeming grieved that he left them not freed from tribute & subiection, hee died, having recommended his wife and children vnto them, he left all his people sorowfull for his death.

Of the second King, and what happened in his raigne.

CHAP. IO.

THE obsequies of the dead king performed, the Antients, the chiefe of the realme, and some part of the people assembled together, to choose a King, where the Antients propounded the necessitie wherein they were, and that it was needefull to choose for chiefe of their citty, a man that had pity of age, of widows, and orphans, and to be a father of the commonweale: for in very deede they should be the feathers of his wings, the cie-browes of his eyes, and the beard of his face, that it was necessarie he were valiant, being needefull shortly to vse their forces, as their god had prophesied. Their resolution in the end was to chuse a sonne of the predecessor, vsing the like good office in accepting his sonne for successor, as hee had done to the commonweale, relying thereon. This young man was called *Vitzilovtli*, which signifieth a rich feather, they set the royall crowne vpon his head, and annointed him, as they have beene accustomed to doe to all their Kings, with an ointment they call *Divine*, being the same vnction wherewith they did annoynt their Idoll. Presently

ently an Orator made an eloquent speech, exhorting him to arme himselfe with courage, and free them from the travells, slavery and misery they suffered, being oppressed by the *Azcapuzalcos*: which done, all did him homage. This king was not married, and his Counsell helde opinion, that it was good to marry him with the daughter of the king of *Azcapuzalco*, to have him a frind by this aliance, and to obtain some diminution of their heavy burthen of tributes imposed vpon them, and yet they feared lest he should disdaine to give them his daughter, by reason they were his vassalls: yet the king of *Azcapuzalco* yeelded therevnto, having humbly required him, who with curteous wordes gave them his daughter, called *Ayanchigual*, whom they ledde with great pompe and ioy to *Mexico*, and performed the ceremony and solemnity of marriage, which was to tie a corner of the mans cloke to a part of the womans vaile in signe of the band of marriage. This Queene broght forth a sonne, of whose name they demaunded advise of the king of *Azcapuzalco*, and casting lots as they had accustomed (being greatly given to soothsayings, especially vpon the names of their children) he would have his grand-childe called *Chimalpopoca*, which signifies a target casting smoke. The Queene his daughter seeing the contentment the King of *Azcapuzalco* had of his grand-child, tooke occasion to intreat him to releve the Mexicaines of the heavy burthen of their tributes, seeing he had now a grand-child Mexicaine, the which the King willingly yeelded vnto, by the advise of his Counsell, granting (for the tribute which they paid,) to bring yeerely a couple of duckes and some fish, in signe of subiection, and that they dwelt in his land. The Mexicaines by this meanes, remained much

much eased and content, but it lasted little. For the Queene their Protectrix died soone after: and they ere following likewise *Vitzilovitsli* the king of *Mexico* died, leaving his sonne *Chimalpopoca* tenne yeares olde, hee reigned thirteene yeeres, and died thirty yeeres old, or little more. Hee was held for a good king, and carefull in the service of his gods, whose Images hee held kings to be; and that the honour done to their god, was done to the king who was his image. For this cause the kings have bene so affectionate to the service of their gods. This king was carefull to winne the love of his neighbours, and to trafficke with them; whereby hee augmented his city, exercising his men in warrelike actions in the Lake, disposing them to that which he pretended, as you shall see presently.

of Chimalpopoca the third king, and his cruell death, and the occasion of warre which the Mexicaines made. CHAP. II.

THE Mexicaines for successor to their deceased king did choose his sonne *Chimalpopoca*, by common consent, although he were a child of tenne yeeres old, being of opinion that it was alwayes necessary to keepe the favor of the king of *Axcapuzcalco*, making his grandchilde king. They then set him in his throane, giving him the ensignes of warre, with a bowe and arrowes in one hand, and a sword with rasours (which they commonly vse) in the right, signifying thereby (as they do say) that they pretended by armes to set themselves at liberty. The Mexicaines had great want of water, that of the Lake being very thicke and muddy, and therefore ill to drinke, so as they caused their infant king to desire

desire of his grandfather the king of *Azcapuzalco*, the water of the mountaine of *Chapultepec*, which is from *Mexico* a league, as is saide before, which they easly obtained, and by their industry made an aqueduct of faggots, weeds and flagges, by the which they brought water to their citty. But because the Citty was built within the Lake, and the aqueduct did crosse it, it did breake forth in many places, so as they could not inioy the water, as they desired, and had great scarcitie: wherevpon, whether they did expresly seeke it, to quarrell with the *Tapanecans*, or that they were mooved vppon small occasion, in the end they sent a resolute ambassage to the king of *Azcapuzalco*, saying, they could not vse the water which he had gratiouly granted them, and therefore they required him to provide them wood, lime, and stone, and to send his workmen, that by their meanes they might make a pipe of stone and lime that should not breake. This message nothing pleased the king, and much lesse his subiects, seeming to be too presumptuous a message, and purposely insolent, for vassals to their Lord. The chiefe of the Counsell disdain- ing thereat, said it was too bold, that not content with permission to live in an others land, and to have water given them, but they would have them goe to serve them: what a matter was that? And whereon presumed this fugitive nation, shut vp in the mud? They would let them know, how fit they were to worke, and to abate their pride, in taking from them their land and their lives.

In these termes and choller they left the king, whom they did somewhat suspect, by reason of his grandchild, and consulted againe anew, what they were to doe, where they resolved to make a generall proclamation, that

that no *Tapanecan* should have any commerce or trafficke with any Mexicaine, that they should not goe to their Cittie, nor receive any into theirs, vpon paine of death. Whereby we may vnderstand that the king did not absolutely commaund over his people, and that he governed more like a Consul, or a Duke, than a King, although since with their power, the commaund of Kings increased, growing absolute Tyrants, as you shall see in the last Kings. For it hath beene an ordinarie thing among the Barbarians, that such as their power hath beene, such hath beene their commaund; yea in our Histories of *Spain*, we finde in some antient kings that manner of rule which the *Tapanecans* vsed. Such were the first kings of the Romans, but that *Rome* declined from Kings to Consuls, and a Senate, till that after they came to be commaunded by Emperours. But these Barbarians, of temperate Kings became tyrants, of which governements a moderate monarchy is the best and most assured. But returne we now vnto our historie.

The king of *Azcapuzalco* seeing the resolution of his subiects, which was to kil the Mexicans, intreated them first to steale away the yong king his grand-childe, and afterwards do what they pleased to the Mexicans. All in a manner yeelded heerevnto, to give the king contentment, and for pittie they had of the child, but two of the chieftest were much opposite, inferring, that it was bad counsell, for that *Chimalpopoca*, although hee were of their blond, yet was it but by the mothers side, and that the fathers was to be preferred, and therefore they concluded that the first they must kill was *Chimalpopoca* king of *Mexico*, protesting so to doe. The king of *Azcapuzalco* was so troubled with this contradiction,
and

and the resolution they had taken, that soone after for very grieve he fell sicke, and died. By whose death the *Tapanecans* finishing their consultation, committed a notable treason; for one night the yong King of *Mexico* sleeping without guard, or feare of any thing, they of *Azcapuzalco* entred his pallace, and slew him sodainly, returning vnscene. The morning being come, when the Nobles went to salute the King, as they were accustomed, they found him slaine with great and cruell wounds; then they cried out and filled all their cittie with teares: and transported with choller, they presently fell to armes, with an intent to revenge their Kings death. As they ranne vppe and downe full of fury and disorder, one of their chiefeft knightes stept forth, labouring to appease them, with a grave admonition: *Whither goe you (saide hee) O yee Mexicaines, quiet your selves, consider that things done without consideration are not well guided; nor come to good end: suppress your grieve, considering that although your king be dead, the noble blood of the Mexicaines is not extinct in him. Wee have children of our kings deceased, by whose conduct, succeeding to the realme, you shall the better execute what you pretend, having a leader to guide your enterprize, go not blindly, surcease, and choose a king first, to guide and encourage you against your enemies: In the meane time dissemble discreetly, performing the funeralls of your deceased king, whose body you see heere present, for heereafter you shall finde better meanes to take revenge.* By this meanes the Mexicans passed no farther, but stayed to make the obsequies of their King, wherevnto they invited the Lords of *Tescuco*, and *Culhuacan*, reporting vnto them this foule and cruell fact, which the *Tapanecans* had committed, moving them to have pittie on them, and incensing them against their enemies,

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mies, concluding that their resolution was to die, or to bee revenged of so great an indignitie, intreating them not to favour so vniust a fact of their enemies; and that for their part, they desired not their aide of armes or men, but onely to bee lookers on of what should passe, and that for their maintenarce, they would not stoppenor hinder the comerce, as the *Tapanecans* had done. At these speeches they of *Tescuco* and *Culhuacan* made them great shewes of good will, and that they were well satisfied, offring them their citties, and all the comerce they desired, that they might provide vittaile and munition at their pleasure, both by land & water. After this, the *Mexicanes* intreated them to stay with them, and assist at the election of their King; the which they likewise granted, to give them contentment.

*Of the fourth King called Izcoalt, and of the warre
against the Tapanecans.*

CHAP. 12.

THE Electors being assembled, an old man that was held for a great Orator, rose vp, who (as the histories report,) spake in this manner, *The light of your eyes O Mexicanes is darkened, but not of your hearts: for although you have lost him that was the light and guide of the Mexicaine Common-weale, yet that of the heart remaines: to consider, that although they have slaine one man, yet there are others that may supply with advantage, the want we have of him: the Mexicaine Nobilitie is not extinguished thereby, nor the blood royall decayed. Turne your eyes and looke about you; you shall see the Nobilitie of Mexico set in order, not one nor two, but many and excellent Princes, sonnes to Aca-*
Mm mapixtli,

528 *The Naturall and Morall*

mapixtli, our true and lawfull King and Lord. Heere you may choofe at your pleasure, faying, I will this man, and not that. If you have loft a father, heere you may finde both father and mother: make account O Mexicaines, that the Sunne is eclipsed and darkened for a time, and will returne suddenly. If Mexico hath beene darkened by the death of your King, the Sun will soone shew, in choofing another King. Looke to whom, and upon whom you shall cast your eyes, and towards whom your heart is inclined, and this is hee whom your god Vitzliputzli hath chosen. And continuing a while this discourse, he ended to the satisfaction of all men, In the end, by the consent of this Counsell, *Izcoalt* was chosen King, which signifies a snake of rasors, who was sonne to the first King *Acamapixtli*, by a slave of his: and although he were not legitimate, yet they made choyce of him, for that he exceeded the rest in behaviour, valour, and magnanimitie of courage. All seemed very well satisfied, and above all, these of *Tescuco*, for their king was married to a sister of *Izcoalts*. After the King had beene crowned and set in his royall seat, another Orator stept vp, discoursing how the king was bound to his Common-weale, and of the courage he ought to shew in travell, speaking thus, Behold this day we depend on thee; it may be thou wilt let fall the burthen that lies upon thy souldiers, and suffer the old man and woman, the orphlin and the widowe to perish. Take pittie of the infants that go creeping in the ayre, who must perish if our enemies surmount vs: unfold then, and stretch forth thy cloake, my Lord, to beare these infants upon thy shoulders, which be the poore and the common people, who live assured under the shadowe of thy wings, and of thy bountie. Uttering many other words vpon this subiect, the which, (as I have said,) they learne by heart, for the exercise of their

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their children, and after did teach them as a lesson to those that beganne to learne the facultie of Orators. In the meane time, the *Tapanecans* were resolute to destroy the *Mexicaines*, and to this end they had made great preparations. And therefore the new King tooke counsell for the proclaiming of warre, and to fight with those that had so much wronged them. But the common people, seeing their adversaries to exceede them farre in numbers and munition for the warre, they came amazed to their King, pressing him not to vndertake so dangerous a warre, which would destroy their poore Cittie and Nation: wherevpon being demaunded what aduise were fittest to take, they made answer, that the King of *Azcapuzalco* was very pittifull, that they should demand peace, and offer to serue him, drawing them forth those marshes, and that he should give them houses and lands among his subiects, that by this meanes they might depend all vppon one Lord. And for the obtaining heereof, they should carry their god in his litter for an intercessor. The cries of the people were of such force, (having some Nobles that approved their opinion,) as presently they called for the Priests, preparing the litter and their god, to performe the voyage. As this was preparing, and every one yeelded to this treatie of peace, and to subiect themselves to the *Tapanecans*, a gallant yong man, and of good sort, stept out among the people, who with a resolute countenance spake thus vnto them, *What meanes this O yee Mexicaines, are yee mad? How hath so great cowardise crept in among vs? Shall we go and yeeld our selves thus to the Azcapuzalcans.* Then turning to the King he said, *How now my Lord, will you endure this? Speake to the people, that they may suffer vs to finde out some meanes for our ho-*

nour and defence, and not to yeelde our selves so simply and shamefully into the hands of our enemies. This yong man was called *Tlacaellec*, nephew to the King, he was the most valiant Captaine and greatest Counsellor that euer the Mexicaines had, as you shall see heereafter. *Izcoalt* incouraged by that his nephew had so wisely spoken, retained the people, saying they should first suffer him to try another better meanes. Then turning towards his Nobilitie, he said vnto them, *You are all beere, my kinsmen, and the best of Mexico, hee that hath the courage to carrie a message to the Tapanecans, let him rise vp.* They looked one vpon another, but no man stirred nor offered himselfe to the word. Then this yong man *Tlacaellec* rising, offered himselfe to go, saying, that seeing he must die, it did import little whether it were to day or to morrow: for what reason should he so carefully preserve himselfe: he was therefore readie, let him command what he pleased. And although all held this for a rash attempt, yet the King resolved to send him, that he might thereon vnderstand the will and disposition of the King of *Azcapuzalco* and of his people, holding it better to hasten his nephews death, then to hazard the honour of his Common-weale. *Tlacaellec* being ready, tooke his way, and being come to the guards, who had commandement to kill any Mexicaines that came towards them, by cunning or otherwise: he perswaded them to suffer him to passe to the king, who wondered to see him, and hearing his ambassage, which was to demand peace of him vnder honest conditions, answered, that hee would impart it to his subiects, willing him to returne the next day for his answer, then *Tlacaellec* demanded a passport, yet could he not obtaine any, but that he should vse his best skill:

with

With this he returned to *Mexico*, giving his words to the guards to returne. And although the King of *Azcapuzalco* desired peace, being of a milde disposition, yet his subiects did so incense him, as his answer was open warre. The which being heard by the messenger, he did all his King commanded him, declaring by this ceremony, to give armes, and anointing the King with the vnction of the dead, that in his Kings behalfe he did desie him. Having ended all, the King of *Azcapuzalco* suffering himselfe to be anointed and crowned with feathers, giving goodly armes in recompence to the messenger, wishing him not to returne by the pallace gate, whereas many attended to cut him in peeces, but to go out secretly by a little false posterne that was open in one of the courts of the Pallace. This yong man did so, and turning by secret waies, got away in safetie in sight of the guards, and there desied them saying, *Tapanecans and Azcapuzalcans, you do your office ill, vnderstand you shall all die, and not one Tapanecan shall remaine alive.* In the meane time the guardes fell vpon him, where he behaved him selfe so valiantly, that hee slew some of them: and seeing many more of them come running, hee retyred himselfe gallantly to the Cittie, where he brought newes, that warre was proclaimed with the *Tapanecans*, and that hee had desied their King.

*Of the battell the Mexicaines gave to the Tapanecans,
and of the victorie they obtained.*

CHAP. 13.

THE desie being knowne to the Commons of *Mexico*, they came to the king, according to their accu-

stomed cowardise, demanding leave to departe the
 Citty, holding their raigne certaine. The king didde
 comfort and incourage them, promising to give them
 libertie if they vanquished their enemies, willing them
 not to feare. The people replied. *And if we be vanqui-*
shed, what shall we doe? If we be overcome (aunswered the
 king) *we will be bound presently to yeeld our selves into your*
hands to suffer death, eat our flesh in your dishes and be re-
wenged of vs. It shall be so then (saide they) if you loose the
 victorie, and if you obtaine the victorie, we do presently offer
 our selves to be your Tributaries, to labour in your houses, to
 sowe your ground, to carrie your armes and baggage when
 you goe to the warres for ever, wee and our descendants after
 vs. These accordes made betwixt the people and the
 nobilitie (which they did after fully performe, cyther
 willingly, or by constraint, as they had promised) the
 king namd for his captain generall *Tlacaellec*, the whole
 campe was put in order, and into squadrons, giving the
 places of captaines to the most valiant of his kinsfolkes
 and friends: then did hee make them a goodly speech,
 whereby he did greatly incorage them, being now wel
 prepared, charging all men to obey the commaundement
 of the Generall whome he had appoynted: he di-
 vided his men into two partes, commanding the most
 valiant and hardie, to give the first charge with him, &
 that all the rest should remaine with the king *Izcoalt*,
 vntil they should see the first assaile their enemies. Mar-
 ching then in order, they were discovered by them of
Azcapuzalco, who presently came furiously foorth of
 the city, carrying great riches of gold, silver, and armes of
 great value, as those which had the empire of all that
 country. *Izcoalt* gave the signall to battaile, with a lit-
 tle drumme he carried on his shoulders, and presently
 they

they raised a general showt, crying, *Mexico, Mexico*, they charged the Tapanecans, and although they were farre more in number, yet did they defeate them, and force them to retire into their Cittie; then advaunced they which remained behinde, crying, *Tlacaellec*, victorie, victorie, all sodainely entred the Cittie, where (by the Kings commandement) they pardoned not any man, no not old men, women, nor children, for they slew them all, and spoyled the Cittie being very rich. And not content heerewith, they followed them that fled, and were retired into the craggy rocks of the *Sierres* or neere mountaines, striking and making a great slaughter of them. The *Tapanecans* being retired to a mountaine cast downe their armes, demanding their lives, and offering to serve the Mexicans, to give them lands and gardins, stone, lime and timber, and to hold them alwayes for their Lordes. Vpon this condition *Tlacaellec* retired his men and ceased the battell, graunting them their lives vpon the former conditions, which they did solemnely sweare. Then they returned to *Azcapuzalco*, and so with their rich and victorious spoiles to the cittie of *Mexico*. The day following the king assembled the nobilitie and the people, to whom he laid open the accord the Commons had made, demanding of them, if they were content to persist therein: the Commons made answer, that they had promised, and they had well deserved it, and therefore they were content to serve them perpetually. Wherevpon they tooke an orhe, which since they have kept without contradiction.

This done *Ixcaltl* returned to *Azcapuzalco*, (by the aduise of his counsell) he divided all the lands & goods of the conquered among the conquerours, the chiefeft

part fell to the King, then to *Tlacaellec*, and after to the rest of the Nobles, as they best deserved in the battell. They also gave land to some plebeians, having behaved themselves valiantly; to others they distributed the pillage, making small account of them as of cowardes. They appointed lands in common for the quarters of *Mexico*, to every one his part, for the service and sacrifices of their gods. This was the order which after they alwayes kept, in the division of the lands and spoyles of those they had vanquished and subdued. By this meanes they of *Azcapuzalco* remained so poore, as they had no lands left them to labor, and (which was worse) they tooke their king from them, & all power to chuse any other then him of *Mexico*.

*Of the warre and victory the Mexicans had against
the Cittie of Cuyoacan.* CHAP. 14.

ALthough the chiefe Cittie of the *Tapaneans*, was that of *Azcapuzalco*; yet had they others with their private Lordes, as *Tucuba* and *Cuyoacan*. These seeing the storme passed, would gladly that they of *Azcapuzalco* had renewed the warre against the Mexicans, and seeing them danted, as a nation wholly broken and defeated, they of *Cuyoacan* resolved to make warre by themselves; to the which they laboured to draw the other neighbor nations, who would not stirre nor quarrell with the Mexicans. In the meane time the hatred and malice increasing, they of *Cuyoacan* beganne to ill intreate the women that went to their markets, mocking at them, and doing the like to the men over whom they had power: for which cause the king of *Mexico* defended, that none of his should goe to *Cuyoacan*, and that

that they should receive none of them into *Mexico*, the which made them of *Cuyoacan* resolve wholly to warre: but first they would provoke them by some shamefull scorne, which was, that having invited them to one of their solemne feasts, after they had made them a goodly banquet, and feasted them with a great daunce after their manner, they sent them for their fruite, womens apparell, forcing them to put it on, and so to returne home like women to their cittie, reproching them, that they were cowards and effeminate, and that they durst not take armes being sufficiently provoked. Those of *Mexico* say, that for revenge they did vnto them a fowle scorne, laying at the gates of their Cittie of *Cuyoacan* certaine things which smoaked, by meanes whereof many women were delivered before their time, and many fell sicke. In the end, all came to open warre, and there was a battell fought, wherein they imployed all their forces, in the which *Tlacaellec*, by his courage and policie in warre, obtained the victory. For having left king *Ixcocalt* in fight with them of *Cuyoacan*, he put himselfe in ambush with some of the most valiant souldiers, and so turning about, charged them behind, and forced them to retire into their Cittie. But seeing their intent was to flie into a Temple, which was verie strong. He with three other valiant souldiors, pursued them eagerly, and got before them, seising on the temple & firing it, so as he forced them to flie to the fields, where hee made a great slaughter of the vanquished, pursuing them two leagues into the Countrey, vnto a litle hill, where the vanquished casting away their weapons and their armes acrosse, yeelded to the Mexicans, and with many teares craved pardon of their overweening follie, in vsing them like women, offering to bee their

their slaves: so as in the end the Mexicaines did pardon them. Of this victory the Mexicanes carried away very rich spoiles of garments, armes, gold, silver, jewells, and rich feathers, with a great number of captives. In this battaile there were three of the principals of *Culhuacan* that came to aide the Mexicaines, to winne honour, the which were remarkable above all. And since being known to *Tlacaellec*, and having made prooffe of their fidelitie, he gave them Mexicaine devises, and had them alwayes by his side, where they fought in all places very valiantly. It was apparant that the whole victory was due to the Generall, and to these three; for among so many captives taken, two third partes were wonne by these foure, which was easily known by a policie they vsed: for taking a captive, they presently cut off a little of his haire, and gave it to others, so as it appeared that those which had their haire cut, amounted to that number, whereby they wonne great reputation and fame of valiant men. They were honoured as conquerors, giving them good portions of the spoils and lands, as the Mexicans have alwayes vsed to doe, which gave occasion to those that did fight, to become famous, and to winne reputation by armes.

Of the warre and victorie which the Mexicans had against the Suchimilcos. CHAP. 15

THE Nation of the *Tapanecans* being subdued the Mexicaines had occasion to do the like to the *Suchimilcos*, who (as it hath beene saide) were the first of the seven caves or linages that peopled this land. The *Mexicans* sought not the occasion, although they might presume as conquerors to extend their limits, but the *Suchimilcos*

chimilcos didde moove them, to their owne ruine, as it happens to men of small iudgement that have no foresight, who not preventing the mischefe they imagined, fall into it. The *Suchimilcos* held opinion, that the *Mexicans*, by reason of their victories past, should attempt to subdue them, and consulted heereon among themselves. Some among them thought it good to acknowledge them for superiors, and to applaude their good fortune, but the contrary was allowed, and they went out to give them battel: which *Ixcalt* the king of *Mexico* vnderstanding, he sent his General *Tlacaellec* against them, with his army: the battell was fought in the same field that divides their limites, which two armies were equall in men and armes, but very diuers in their order and manner of fighting; for that the *Suchimilcos* charged all together on a heape confusedly, and *Tlacaellec* divided his men into squadrons with a goodly order, so as he presently brake his ennemies, forcing them to retire into their cittie, into the which they entred, following them to the Temple whither they fled, which they fiered, and forcing them to flie vnto the mountaines: in the end they brought them to this poynt, that they yeelded with their armes acrosse. The Generall *Tlacaellec* returning in great triumph, the priests went forth to receive him, with their musicke of flutes, and giving incense. The chiefe Captaines vsed other ceremonies and shews of ioy, as they had bin accustomed to doe, and the king with all the troupe went to the Temple, to give thanks to their false god, for the diuill hath alwayes beene very desirous hereof, to challenge to himselfe the honor which he deserves not, seeing it is the true God which giveth victories, and maketh them to rule whome he pleaseth. The day following,
king

king *Izcalt* went vnto the Citty of *Suchimilco*, causing himselfe to be sworne king of the *Suchimilcos* : and for their comfort he promised to doe them good. In token whereof hee commaunded them to make a great cawsey stretching from *Mexico*, to *Suchimilco*, which is foure leagues , to the end there might bee more commerce and trafficke amongst them. Which the *Suchimilcos* performed, and in shorte time the Mexicaine government seemed so good vnto them , as they helde themselves happy to have changed their king and commonweale. Some neighbors pricked forward by envy, or feare , to their ruines were not yet made wise by others miseries.

Cuiclavaca was a citty within the lake, which though the name and dwelling be chaunged, continueth yet. They were active to swimme in the lake, and therefore they thought they might much indomage and annoy the Mexicaines by water, which the King vnderstanding, hee resolved to send his army presently to fight against them . But *Tlacaellec* little esteeming this warre, holding it dishonorable to lead an army against them, made offer to conquer them with the children onely : which he performed in this maner : he went vnto the Temple & drew out of the Covent such children as he thought fittest for this action, from tenne to eightene yeeres of age, who knew how to guide their boates, or canoes, teaching them certaine pollicies . The order they held in this warre, was, that he went to *Cuiclavaca* with his children , where by his pollicy hee pressed the ennemy in such sorte , that hee made them to flie, and as he followed them, the lord of *Cuiclavaca* mette him and yeelded vnto him, himselfe, his Citty, and his people, and by this meanes he stayed the pursuite. The
children

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children returned with much spoyle, and many captives for their sacrifices, being solemnely received with a great procession, musike and perfumes, & they went to worshipping their gods, in taking of the earth which they did eate, and drawing blood from the forepart of their legges with the Priests lancets, with other superstitions which they were accustomed to vse in the like solemnities. The children were much honoured and incoraged, and the king imbraced and kissed them, and his kinsmen and alies accompanied them. The bruite of this victorie ranne throughout all the country, how that *Tlacaellec* had subdued the city of *Cuiclavaca* with children: the news and consideration whereof opened the eyes of those of *Tescuco*, a chiefe and very cunning Nation for their manner of life: So as the king of *Tescuco* was first of opinion, that they should subiect themselves to the king of *Mexico*, and invite him therevnto with his cittie. Therefore by the advise of his Counsell, they sent Ambassadors good Orators with honorable presents, to offer themselves vnto the Mexicans, as their subiects, desiring peace and amitie, which was graciously accepted; but by the advise of *Tlacaellec* he vsed a ceremony for the effecting thereof, which was that those of *Tescuco* should come forth armed against the Mexicans, where they should fight, and presently yeelde, which was an act and ceremony of warre, without any effusion of bloud on either side. Thus the king of *Mexico* became soveraigne Lord of *Tescuco*, but hee tooke not their king from them, but made him of his privie counsell, so as they have alwayes maintained themselves in this mannervntill the time of *Motecuma* the second, during whose raigne the Spaniards entred. Having subdued the land and citty of *Tescuco*, *Mexico* remai-

remained Lady and Mistris of all the landes and citties about the Lake, where it is built. *Izcoalt* having enioyed this prosperitie, and raigned twelve yeeres, died, leaving the realme which had beene given him, much augmented by the valour and counsell of his nephew *Tlacaellec* (as hath afore beene saide) who held it best to choose an other king then himselfe, as shall heereafter be shewed.

*of the sifst King of Mexico, called Moteçuma,
the first of that name. CHAP. 16.*

FOrasmuch as the election of the new King, belonged to foure chiefe Electors, (as hath been said,) and to the King of *Tescuco*, and the King of *Tacub*, by especiall priuiledge: *Tlacaellec* assembled these six personages, as he that had the soveraigne authoritie, and having propounded the matter vnto them, they made choise of *Moteçuma*, the first of that name, nephew to the same *Tlacaellec*. His election was very pleasing to them all, by reason whereof, they made most solemne feasts, and more stately then the former. Presently after his election, they conducted him to the Temple with a great traine, where before the diuine harth, (as they call it,) where there is continuall fire, they set him in his royall throne, putting vpon him his royall ornaments. Being there, the King drew blood from his eares and legges with a griffons tallents, which was the sacrifice wherein the diuell delighted to be honoured. The Priests, Antients, and Captaines, made their orations, all congratulating his election. They were accustomed in their elections to make great feasts and dances, where they wasted many lightes. In this
Kings

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Kings time the custome was brought in, that the King should go in person to make warre in some province, and bring captives to solemnize the feast of his coronation, and for the solemne sacrifices of that day. For this cause King *Moteczuma* went into the province of *Chalco*, who had declared themselves his enemies: from whence (having fought valiantly,) he brought a great number of captives, whereof he did make a notable sacrifice the day of his coronation, although at that time he did not subdue all the province of *Chalco*, being a very warlike nation. Many came to this coronation from divers provinces, as well neere as farre off, to see the feast, at the which all commers were very bountifully entertained and clad, especially the poore, to whom they gave new garments. For this cause they brought that day into the Cittie, the Kings tributes, with a goodly order, which consisted in stufes to make garments of all sorts, in *Cacao*, gold, silver, rich feathers, great burthens of cotten, cucumbers, sundry sortes of pulses, many kindes of sea fish, and of the fresh water, great store of fruites, and venison without number, not reckoning an infinite number of presents, which other kings and Lords sent to the new king. All this tribute marched in order according to the provinces, and before them the stewards and receivers, with divers markes and ensignes, in very goodly order: so as it was one of the goodliest things of the feast, to see the entry of the tribute. The King being crowned, he imploied himselfe in the conquest of many provinces, and for that he was both valiant and vertuous, hee still increased more and more, vsing in all his affaires the counsell and industry of his generall *Tlacaellec*, whom he did alwaies love and esteeme very much, as hee had good

good reason. The warre wherein hee was most troubled and of greatest difficultie, was that of the province of *Chalco*, wherein there happened great matters, whereof one was very remarkable, which was, that they of *Chalcas*, had taken a brother of *Moteczumae*s in the warres, whome they resolved to choose for their king, asking him very curteously, if he would accept of this charge. He answered (after much importunity, still persisting therein,) that if they meant plainly to choose him for their king, they should plant in the market place, a tree or very high stake, on the toppe whereof, they should make a little scaffold, and meanes to mount vnto it. The *Chalcas* supposing it had beene some ceremony to make himselfe more apparent, presently effected it: then assembling all his *Mexicaines* about the stake, he went to the toppe with a garland of flowers in his hand, speaking to his men in this maner, *O valiant Mexicaines, these men will choose mee for their King, but the gods will not permit, that to be a King I should committe any treason against my countrie, but contrariwise, I wil that you learne by me, that it behooveth vs rather, to endure death, then to ayde our enemies.* Saying these words, he cast himselfe downe, and was broken in a thousand peeces, at which spectacle, the *Chalcas* had so great horror and disspits, that presently they fell vpon the *Mexicaines* and slew them all with their launces, as men whom they held too prowde and inexorable, saying, they had diuclish hearts. It chanced the night following, they heard two owles making a mornefull cry, which they did interpret as an vnfortunate signe, and a presage of their neere destruction, as it succeeded: for King *Moteczuma* went against them in person with all his power, where he vanquished them, and ruined all their

their kingdome : and passing beyond the mountaine *Menade*, hee conquered still even vnto the North sea. Then returning towards the South sea, hee subdued many provinces: so as he became a mighty King: all by the helpe and counsell of *Tlacaellec*, who in a manner conquered all the Mexicaine nation. Yet hee held an opinion, (the which was confirmed,) that it was not behoovefull to conquer the province of *Tlascalla*, that the Mexicaines might have a frontier enemy, to keepe the youth of *Mexico* in exercise and allarme : and that they might have numbers of captives to sacrifice to their idols, wherein they did waste (as hath beene said,) infinite numbers of men; which should bee taken by force in the warres. The honour must be given to *Moteczuma*, or to speake truly, to *Tlacaellec* his Generall, for the good order and policy sēd in the realme of *Mexico*, as also for the counsells and goodly enterprises, which they did execute : and likewise for the numbers of Iudges and Magistrates, being as well ordered there, as in any common-weale; yea, were it in the most flourishing of *Europe*. This King did also greatly increase the Kings house, giving it great authoritie, and appointing many and sundry officers, which served him with great pompe and ceremony. Hee was no lesse remarkable touching the devotion and service of his idolls, increasing the number of his Ministers, and instituting new ceremonies, wherevnto hee carried a great respect.

Hee built that great temple dedicated to their god *Vitziliputzli*, whereof is spoken in the other booke. He did sacrifice at the dedication of this temple, a great number of men, taken in sundry victories : finally, injoying his Empire in great prosperitie, hee fell sicke,

and died, having raigned twenty eight yeares, vnlike to his successſſor *Ticocic*, who did not reſemble him, neither in valour, nor in good fortune.

How Tlacaellec refused to be King, and of the election and decedes of Ticocic. CHAP. 17.

THE ſoure Deputies aſſembled in counſell, with the lords of *Tſcuca* & *Tacuba*, where *Tlacaellec* was Preſident in the election, where by all their voices *Tlacaellec* was choſen, as deſerving this charge better then any other. Yet he reſused it, perſwading them by pertinent reaſons, that they ſhuld chooſe another, ſaying, that it was better, and more expedient to have another king, and he to be his inſtrument and aſſiſtant, as hee had beene till then, and not to lay the whole burthen vpon him, for that he held himſelfe no leſſe bound for the Common-weale, then if hee were king. It is a rare thing to reſuſe principalitie and commaund, and to indure the paine and the care, and not to reape the honour. There are few that will yeeld vp the power and authority, which they may hold, were it profitable to the common-weale. This Barbarian did heerein exceed the wiſeſt amongſt the Greekes and Romans, and it may be a leſſon to *Alexander* and *Iulius Caſar*, whereof the one held it little to command the whole world, putting his moſt deere and faithfull ſervants to death vpon ſome ſmall iealofies of rule and empire: and the other declared himſelfe enemy to his country, ſaying, that if it were lawfull to do any thing againſt law and reaſon, it was for a kingdome: ſuch is the thirſt and deſire of commaund. Although this acte of *Tlacaellecs* might well proceede from too great a confidence of him-

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himselfe, seeming to him, though he were not king, yet in a maner, that he commanded kings, (suffering him to carry certaine markes, as a *Tiara* or ornament for the head, which belonged onely to themselves. Yet this act deserves greater commendation, and to be well considered of, in that he held opinion to be better able to serve his Common-weale as a subiect, then being a soveraigne Lord. And as in a comedie he deserves most commendation, that represents the personage that importes most, bee it of a sheepeheard or a peasant, and leaves the King or Captaine to him that can performe it: So in good Philosophy, men ought to have a special regard to the common good, and apply themselves to that office and place which they best vnderstand. But this philosophie is farre from that which is practised at this day. But let vs returne to our discourse, and say, that in recompence of his modestie, and for the respect which the Mexicaine Electors bare him, they demanded of *Tlacaellec*, (that seeing hee would not raigne,) whom he thought most fit: Wherevpon hee gave his voice to a sonne of the deceased king, who was then very yong, called *Ticocic*: but they replied that his shoulders were very weake to beare so heavy a burthen. *Tlacaellec* answered, that his were there to helpe him to beare the burthen, as he had done to the deceased: by meanes whereof, they tooke their resolution, and *Ticocic* was chosen, to whom were done all the accustomed ceremonies.

They pierced his nostrills, and for an ornament put an Emerald therein: and for this reason, in the Mexicaine bookes, this king is noted by his nostrills pierced. Hee differed much from his father and predecessor, being noted for a coward, and not valiant. He went

to make warre for his coronation, in a province that was rebelled, where he lost more of his own men then hee tooke captives; yet he returned, saying, that hee brought the number of captives required for the sacrifice of his coronation, and so hee was crowned with great solemnities. But the Mexicaines discontented to have a king so little disposed to warre, practised to hasten his death by poison. For this cause hee continued not above foure yeares in the kingdome: whereby wee see that the children do not alwaies follow the blood and valour of their fathers; and the greater the glorie of the predecessors hath beene, the more odious is the weakenes and cowardise of such that succeed them in command, and not in merit. But this losse was well repaired by a brother of the deceased, who was also sonne to great *Moteczuma*, called *Axayaca*, who was likewise chosen by the advice of *Tlacaellec*, wherein hee happened better then before.

*Of the death of Tlacaellec, and the deces of Axayaca
the seventh King of Mexicaines.*

CHAP. 18.

NOW was *Tlacaellec* very old, who by reason of his age, he was carried in a chaire vpon mens shoulders, to assist in counsell when busines required. In the end hee fell sicke, whenas the king (who was not yet crowned,) did visit him often, shedding many teares, seeming to loose in him his father, and the father of his countrie. *Tlacaellec* did most affectionately recommend his children vnto him, especially the eldest, who had shewed himselfe valiant in the former warres. The king promised to have regard vnto him, and the more to comfort the olde man, in his presence he gave him

the

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the charge and ensignes of Captaine Generall, with all the preheminences of his father; wherewith the olde man remained so well satisfied, as with this content he ended his daies. If hee had not passed to another life, they might have held themselves very happy, seeing that of so poore and small a cittie, wherein hee was borne, he established by his valour and magnanimitie, so great, so rich, and so potent a kingdome. The Mexicans made his funerall as the founder of that Empire, more sumptuous and stately, then they had done to any of their former kings. And presently after *Axayaca*, (to appease the sorrow which all the people of *Mexico* shewed for the death of their captaine,) he resolved to make the voyage necessary for his coronation. Hee therefore led his army with great expedition into the province of *Tequantepec*; two hundred leagues from *Mexico*, where he gave battaile to a mighty army and an infinite number of men assembled together, as well out of that province, as from their neighbours, to oppose themselves against the Mexicans. The first of his Campe that advanced himsele, to the combate, was the King himsele, defying his ennemies, from whome hee made shewe to fly when they charged him, vntill he had drawne them into an ambuscadoe, where many souldiers lay hidden vnder straw, who suddenly issued forth, and they which fled, turned head: so as they of *Tequantepec* remained in the midst of them, whom they charged furiously, making a great slaughter of them: and following their victory, they razed their city and temple, punishing all their neighbours rigorously. Then went they on farther, and without any stay, conquered to *Guatulco*, the which is a port at this day well knowne in the South sea. *Axayaca* re-

turned to *Mexico* with great and rich spoiles, where he was honourably crowned, with sumptuous and state-ly preparation of sacrifices, tributes, and other things, whither many came to see his coronation. The Kings of *Mexico* received the crowne from the hands of the King of *Tescuco*, who had the preheminence. He made many other enterprises, where he obtained great victories, being alwaies the first to leade the army, and to charge the enemy; by the which hee purchased the name of a most valiant captaine: & not content to subdue strangers, he also suppressed his subiects which had rebelled, which never any of his predecessours ever could doe, or durst attempt. We have already shewed how some seditious of *Mexico* had divided themselves from that common-weale, and built a cittie neare vnto them, which they called *Tlatelulco*, whereas now saint *Iaques* is.

These being revolted, held a faction aparte, and increased and multiplied much, refusing to acknowledge the kings of *Mexico*, nor to yeeld them obedience. The king *Axayaca* sent to advise them, not to live divided, but being of one bloud, and one people, to ioyne together, and acknowledge the king of *Mexico*: wherevpon the Lorde of *Tlatelulco* made an aunswere full of pride and disdain, defying the king of *Mexico* to single combate with himselfe: and presently mustred his men, commaunding some of them to hide themselves in the weeds of the Lake, and the better to deceive the Mexicans, he commaunded them to take the shapes of ravens, geese, and other beasts, as frogs, and such like, supposing by this meanes to surprise the Mexicans as they should passe by the waies and cawties of the Lake. Having knowledge of this descie, and of his adversaries policie,

pollicie, he divided his army, giving a part to his generall, the sonne of *Tlacaellec*, commaunding him to charge this ambuscadoe, in the Lake; and he with the rest of his people, by an vnfrequented way, went and incamped before *Tlatelulco*. Presently hee called him who had defied him, to performe his promise, and as the two Lordes of *Mexico*, and *Tlatelulco* aduanced, they commaunded their subiects not to mooue, vntill they had seene who should be conquerour, which was done, and presently the two Lordes incountered valiantly, where having fought long, in the end the Lorde of *Tlatelulco* was forced to turne his backe, being vnable to indure the furious charge of the king of *Mexico*. Those of *Tlatelulco* seeing their captaine flie, fainted, & fled likewise, but the Mexicans following them at the heeles, charged them furiously, yet the Lord of *Tlatelulco* escaped not the hands of *Axayaca*, for thinking to save himselfe, he fled to the toppe of the Temple, but *Axayaca* folowed him so neere, as he seised on him with great force, and threw him from the toppe to the bottom, and after set fire on the Temple, and the cittie. Whilest this passed at *Tlatelulco*, the Mexicane generall was very hote in the revenge of those that pretended to defeate him by pollicie, & after he had forced them to yeelde, and to crie for mercy, the Generall sayde he would not pardon them, vntil they had first performed the offices of those figures they represented, and therefore he would have them crie like frogges and ravens, every one according to the figure which he had vnder-taken, else they had no composition: which thing he did to mocke them with their owne policie. Feare and necessitie be perfect teachers, so as they did sing and crie with all the differences of voyces that were com-

maunded them, to save their lives, although they were much grieved at the sport their enemies made at them. They say that vnto this day, the Mexicans vse to icast at the *Tlatelulcans*, which they beare impatiently, when they putte them in minde of this singing and crying of beasts. King *Axayaca* tooke pleasure at this scorne and disgrace, and presently after they retourned to *Mexico* with great ioy. This King was esteemed for one of the best that had commaunded in *Mexico*. Hee reigned cleaven yeares, and one succeeded that was much inferior vnto him in valour and vertue.

Of the deedes of Autzol the eight King of Mexico.

CHAP. 19.

AMong the foure Electors that had power to chuse whome they pleased to be king, there was one indued with many perfections, named *Autzol*. This man was chosen by the rest, and this election was very pleasing to all the people: for besides that he was valiant, all held him curteous and affable to every man, which is one of the chiefe qualities required in them that commaund, to purchase love and respect. To celebrate the feast of his coronation, hee resolved to make a voyage, and to punish the pride of those of *Quaxulatlan*, a very rich and plentifull province, and at this day the chiefe of new *Spaine*. They had robbed his officers and stewards, that carried the tribute to *Mexico*, and therewithall were rebelled. There was great difficulty to reduce this Nation to obedience, lying in such sort, as an arme of the sea stopt the *Mexicans* passage: to passe the which *Autzol* (with a strange device and industry) caused an Iland to be made in the water, of faggots, earth, and other

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other matter ; by meanes whereof , both hee and his men might passe to the enemy, where giving them battell, he conquered them, and punished them at his pleasure. Then returned hee vnto *Mexico* in triumph, and with great riches, to bee crowned King, according to their custome. *Autzol* extended the limites of his kingdom farre, by many conquests, even vnto *Guatimala*, which is three hundred leagues from *Mexico*. He was no lesse liberall than valiant : for whenas the tributes arrived, (which as I have saide) came in great aboundaunce, hee went forth of his pallace, gathering together all the people into one place, then commaunded he to bring all the tributes, which hee divided to those that had neede. To the poore hee gave stufes to make apparrell, and meate, and whatsoever they had neede of in great aboundaunce, and things of value, as golde, silver, iewels, and feathers, were divided amongst the Captaines, souldiers, and servants of his house, according to every manis merite. This *Autzol* was likewise a great politician, hee pulled downe the houses ill built, and built others very sumptuous. It seemed vnto him that the city of *Mexico* had too litle water, and that the Lake was very muddy, and therefore hee resolved to let in a great course of water, which they of *Cuyoacan* vsed. For this cause he called the chiefe man of the cittie vnto him, being a famous forcerer, having propounded his meaning vnto him, the forcerer wished him to be well advised what hee did, being a matter of great difficulty, and that hee vaderstoode, if he drew the river out of her ordinary course, making it passe to *Mexico*, hee would drowne the city. The king supposed these excuses were but to frustrate the effect of his desseigne, being therefore in choler, he dismissed him home,

home; and a few dayes after hee sent a provost to *Cuyoacan*, to take this Sorcerer: who having vnderstanding for what intent the kings officers came, hee caused them to enter his house, and then he presented himself vnto them in the forme of a terrible Eagle; wherewith the provost and his companions being terrified, they returned without taking him. *Auizol* incensed herewith sent others, to whome hee presented himselfe in forme of a furious tygre, so as they durst not touch him. The third came, and they found him in the forme of a horrible serpent, whereat they were much afraide. The king mooved the more with these dooings, sent to tell them of *Cuyoacan*, that if they brought not the forcerer bound vnto him, he would raze their city. For feare whereof, or whether it were of his owne free will, or being forced by the people, he suffered himselfe to be led to the king, who presently caused him to be strangled, and then did he put his resolution in practise, forcing a channell whereby the water might passe to *Mexico*, whereby hee brought a great current of water into the Lake, which they brought with great ceremonies and superstitions, having priests casting incense along the banks, others sacrificed quailles, and with the bloud of them sprinkled the channell bankes, others sounding of cornets, accompanied the water with their musicke. One of the chiefe went attired in a habite like to their goddesse of the water, and all saluted her, saying, that shee was welcome. All which things are painted in the *Annales of Mexico*: which booke is now at *Rome* in the holy Library, or Vaticane, where a father of our company, that was come from *Mexico*, did see it, and other histories, the which he did expound to the keeper of his Holiness Library, taking great delight to vnderstand

stand this booke, which before hee could never comprehend. Finally, the water was brought to *Mexico*, but it came in such aboundaunce, that it had welneere drowned the cittie, as was foretold : and in effect it did ruine a great parte thereof, but it was presently prevented by the industry of *Autzol*, who caused an issue to be made to draw forth the water : by meanes whereof hee repaired the buildings that were fallen, with an exquisite worke, being before but poore cotages. Thus he left the city invironed with water, like another *Venise*, and very well built : hee reigned eleaven yeares, and ended with the last and greatest successor of all the Mexicans.

*Of the election of great Motecuma, the last king
of Mexico.* CHAP. 20.

WHen the Spaniards entred new *Spaine*, being in the yeare of our Lorde one thousand five hundred and eighteen, *Motecuma* second of that name, was the last king of the Mexicaines, I say the last, although they of *Mexico*, after his death, chose another king, yea in the life of the same *Motecuma*, whome they declared an enemy to his country, as we shall see heereafter. But hee that succeeded him, and hee that fell into the hands of the Marquise de *Valle*, had but the names and titles of Kings, for that the kingdome was in a maner al yeilded to the Spaniards: so as with reason we account *Motecuma* for the last king, and so hee came to the periode of the Mexicaines power and greatnesse, which is admirable being happened among Barbarians : for this cause, and for that this was the season, that God had chosen to reveale vnto them the knowledge of his Gospel,

Gospel, and the kingdome of Iesus Christ, I will relate more at large the actes of *Motēcuma*, then of the

Before he came to be king, he was by disposition, very grave and stayed; and spake little, so as when hee gave his opinion in the privy counsell, whereas he assisted, his speeches and discourses made every one to admire him, so as even then he was feared and respected. He retired himselfe usually into a Chappell, appointed for him in the Temple of *Vitziliputzli*, where they said their Idoll spake vnto him; and for this cause hee was helde very religious and devout. For these perfections then, being most noble and of great courage, his election was short and easie, as a man vpon whom all mens eyes were fixed, as woorthy of such a charge. Having intelligence of this election, hee hidde himselfe in this chappell of the Temple, whether it were by iudgement, (apprehending so heavy and hard a burthen) as to governe such a people) or rather as I beleeeve through hypocrisie, to shew that he desired not Empery: In the end they found him, leading him to the place of counsell, whither they accompanied him with all possible ioy: hee marched with such a gravitie, as they all sayd the name of *Motēcuma* agreed very wel with his nature, which is as much to say, as an angry Lord. The electors did him great reverence, giving him notice, that hee was chosen king: from thence he was ledde before the harth of their gods, to give incense, where he offered sacrifices in drawing bloud from his eares, & the calves of his legges, according to their custome. They attired him with the royall ornaments; and pierced the guffile of his nostrils, hanging thereat a rich emerald, a barbarous & troublous custome, but the desire of rule, made all

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all paine light and easie. Being seated in his throne, he gave audience to the Orations and Speeches that were made vnto him, which according vnto their custome were eloquent and artificiall. The first was pronounced by the king of *Tescuco*, which being preserved, for that it was lately delivered, & very worthy to be heard, I will set it downe word by word, and thus hee sayde:
The concordance and vnitie of voyces vpon thy election, is a sufficient testimonie (most noble yong man) of the happines the realme shall receive, as well deserving to be commaunded by thee, as also for the generall applause which all doe shew by meanes thereof. Wherein they haue great reason, for the Empire of Mexico doth alreadie so farre extend it selfe, that to governe a world, as it is, and to beare so heauie a burthen, it requires no lesse dexteritie and courage, than that which is resident in thy firme and valiant heart, nor of lesse wisdom and iudgement than thine. I see and know plainely, that the mightie God loveth this Cittie, seeing he hath given vnderstanding to choose what was fit. For who will not beleue that a Prince, who before his raigne had pierced the nine vaultes of heauen, should not likewise nowe obtaine those things that are earthlie to releue his people, aiding himselfe with his best iudgement, being therevnto bound by the duetie and charge of a king. Who will likewise beleue that the great courage which thou hast alwaies valiantly shewed in matters of importance, should now faile thee in matters of greatest need? Who will not perswade himselfe but the Mexicane Empire is come to the height of their soveraigntie, seeing the Lorde of things created hath imparted so great graces vnto thee; that with thy looke onelie thou breedest admiration in them that beholde thee? Reioyce then, O happy land, to whom the Creator hath given a Prince, as a firme pillar to support thee, which shall be thy father and thy defence, by whom thou shalt be succoured

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cored at neede, who wil be more than a brother to his subiects, for his pietie and clemencie. Thou hast a king, who in regard of his estate is not inclined to delights, or will lie stretched out upon his bed, occupied in pleasures and vices; but contrariwise in the midst of his sweete and pleasant sleepe, hee will sodainely awake, for the care he must have over thee, and will not feele the taste of the most savourie meates, having his spirites transported with the imagination of thy good. Tell mee then (O happie realme) if I have not reason to saie that thou oughtest reioyce, having found such a King: And thou noble Yong man, and our most mightie Lorde, be confident, and of a good courage, that seeing the Lorde of things created hath given thee this charge, hee will also give thee force and courage to mannage it: and thou maiest well hope, that he which in times past hath used so great bountie towards thee, wil not now denie thee his greater gifts, seeing he hath given thee so great a charge, which I wish thee to enjoy manie yeares. King Motecuma was very attentive to this Discourse, which being ended, they say he was so troubled, that indeavouring thrice to answer him, hee could not speake, being overcome with teares, which ioy and content doe vsually cause, in signe of great humilitie. In the end being come to himselfe, he spake briefly, I were too blinde, good king of Tescuco, if I didde not know, that what thou hast spoken unto me, proceeded of meere favour, it pleaseth you to shew me, seeing among so manie noble & valiant men within this realme, you have made choise of the least sufficient: and in tructh, I finde my selfe so incapable of a charge of so great importance, that I know not what to doe, but to beseech the Creator of all created things, that hee will favour mee, and I intreate you all to pray unto him for me. These wordes vttered, hee beganne againe to weepe.

*How Motecuma ordered the service of his house,
and of the warre hee made for his
coronation. CHA. 21*

HE that in his election made such shew of humilitie and mildenes, seeing himselfe king, beganne presently to discover his aspiring thoughts. The first was, he commaunded that no plebeian should serve in his house, nor beare any royall office, as his predecessours had vsed till then; blaming them that would be served by men of base condition, commaunding that all the noble and most famous men of his realme shoulde live within his pallace, and exercise the offices of his court, and house. Wherevnto an olde man of great authoritie (who had sometimes beene his Schoolemaister) opposed himselfe, advising him, to be carefull what hee did, and not to thrust himselfe into the danger of a great inconvenience, in separating himselfe from the vulgare and common people, so as they should not dare to looke him in the face, seeing themselves so reiected by him. He answered, that it was his resolution, and that he would not allow the plebeians to goe thus mingled among the Nobles, as they had doone, saying, that the service they did, was according to their condition, so as the kings got no reputation, and thus he continued firme in his resolution. Hee presently commanded his counsell to dismisse all the plebeians from their charges and offices, as well those of his houshold as of his court, and to provide Knightes, the which was done. After he went in person to an enterprize necessary for his coronation. At that time a province lying farre off towards the North Ocean, was revolted from the crowne,

crowne, whether he led the flower of his people, well appointed. There hee waired with such valour and dexteritie, that in the end he subdued all the province, and punished the rebels severely, returning with a great number of captives for the sacrifices, and many other spoiles. All the citties made him solemne receptions at his returne, and the Lords thereof gave him water to wash, performing the offices of servants, a thing not vsed by any of his predecessors. Such was the feare and respect they bare him. In *Mexico*, they made the feasts of his coronation with great preparations of dances, comedies, banquets, lights, and other inventions for many daies. And there came so great a wealth of tributes from all his countries, that strangers vnknowne came to *Mexico*, and their very enemies resorted in great numbers disguised to see these feasts, as those of *Tlascalla*, and *Mechovacan*: the which *Moteczuma* having discovered, he commanded they should be lodged and gently intreated, and honoured as his own person. He also made them goodly galleries like vnto his owne, where they might see and behold the feasts. So they entred by night to those feasts, as the king himselfe, making their sportes and maskes. And for that I have made mention of these provinces, it shall not be from the purpose to vnderstand, that the inhabitants of *Mechovacan*, *Tlascalla*, and *Tapeaca*, would never yeelde to the Mexicans, but did alwaies fight valiantly against them; yea, sometimes the *Mechovacans* did vanquish the Mexicans, as also those of *Tapeaca* did. In which place, the Marquise *Don Ferrand Cortes*; after that he and the Spaniards were expelled *Mexico*, pretended to build their first cittie, the which he called (as I well remember,) *Segura de la Frontiere*. But this peopling continued

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tinued little: for having afterwards reconquered *Mexico*, all the Spaniards went to inhabite there. To conclude, those of *Tapaca*, *Tlascalla*, and *Mehowacan*, have beene alwaies enemies to the Mexicans, although *Moteczuma* said vnto *Cortes*, that he did purposefy forbear to subdue them, to have occasion to exercise his men of warre, and to take numbers of captives.

Of the behaviour and greatnes of Moteczuma.

CHAP. 22.

THIS King laboured to be respected, yea, to be worshipped as a god. No Plebeian might looke him in the face; if he did, he was punished with death: hee did never set his foote on the ground, but was alwaies carried on the shoulders of Noblemen; and if he lighted, they laid rich tapestry whereon he did go. When hee made any voyage, hee and the Noblemen went as it were in a parke compassed in for the nonce, and the rest of the people went without the parke, invironing it in on every side; hee never put on a garment twice, nor did eate or drinke in one vessell or dish above once; all must be new, giving to his attendants that which had once served him: so as commonly they were rich and sumptuous. He was very carefull to have his lawes observed. And when he returned victor from any warre, he fained sometimes to go and take his pleasure, then would he disguise himselfe, to see if his people (supposing if he weare absent,) would omitte any thing of the feast or reception: If there were any excess or defect, he then did punish it rigorously. And also to discern how his ministers did execute their offices, he often disguised himselfe, offering guiftes and pre-

presents to the iudges, provoking them to do in iustice. If they offended, they were presently punished with death, without remission or respect, were they Noblemen, or his kinsmen, yea, his owne bretheren. He was little conversant with his people, and seldome seene, retyring himselfe most commonly to care for the government of his realme. Besides that, hee was a great iusticier and very noble, hee was very valiant and happy, by meanes whereof, hee obtained great victories, and came to this greatnes, as is written in the Spanish histories, whereon it seemes needesse to write more. I will onely have a care heereafter to write what the bookes and histories of the *Indies* make mention of, the which the Spanish writers have not observed, having not sufficiently vnderstood the secrets of this country, the which are things very worthy to be knowne, as we shall see heereafter.

*Of the presages and strange prodigies which happened
in Mexico before the fall of their Empire.*

CHAP. 23.

Deut. 28.

1st. 20.

Lib. 9. de demo.

Et an. demon. 1

ALthough the holy Scripture forbids vs to give credite to signes and vaine prognostications, and that S. *Ierome* doth admonish vs not to feare tokens from heaven, as the Gentiles do: Yet the same Scripture teacheth vs, that monstrous and prodigious signes are not altogether to bee contemned, and that often they are fore-runners of some generall changes and chasticements which God will take, as *Eusebius* notes well of *Cesarea*: For that the same Lord of heaven and earth, sendes such prodiges and new things in heaven, in the elements; in beasts, and in his other creatures, that

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that this might partly serve as an advertisement to men, and to be the beginning of the paine and chastisement, by the feare and amazement they bring. It is written in the second booke of *Macabees*, that before that great change and persecution of the people of *Israel*: which 2. Mac. 5. was caused by the tyranny of *Antiochus* surnamed *E-piphanes*, whome the holy Scriptures call the roote of sinne, there were seene for forty dayes together thoroughout all *Ierusalem*, great squadrons of horsemen in the ayre, who with their armour gilt, their lances and targets, and vpon furious horses, with their swordes 1. Mac. 1. drawne did strike, skirmish and incounter one against the other: and they say that the Inhabitants of *Ierusalem* seeing this, they prayed to our Lord to appease his wrath, and that these prodgies might turne to good. It is likewise written in the booke of *Wisedome*, That Sap. 17. when God would drawe his people out of *Egypt*, and punish the Egyptians, some terrible & fearefull visions appeared vnto them, as fires seene out of time in horrible formes. *Ioseph* in his booke of the Iewishwarres, sheweth many and great wonders going before the destruction of *Ierusalem*, and the last captivtie of his wicked people, whome God iustly abhorred: and *Eusebius* Euseb. lib. 1. de eccle. hist. of *Cesarea*, with others, alleadge the same texts, authorizing prognostications. The Histories are full of like observations in great changes of states and commonweales, as *Paulus Orosius* witnesseth of many: and without doubt this observation is not vaine nor vnprofitable; for although it be vanitie, yea superstition, defended by the lawe of our God, lightly to beleeeve these signes and tokens: yet in matters of great moment, as in the changes of nations, kingdoms, and notable laws. It is no vaine thing, but rather certaine and assured, to

believe that the wisdom of the most High dooth dispose and suffer these things, foretelling what shoulde happen, to serve (as I have saide) for an advertisement to some, and a chastisement to others, and as a witness to all, that the king of heaven hath a care of man: who as he hath appointed great and fearefull tokens of that great change of the world, which shall bee the day of iudgement, so doth it please him to send wonderful signes to demonstrate lesser changes in divers partes of the world, the which are remarkable, whereof he disposeth according to his eternall wisdom. Wee must also vnderstand, that although the diuell be the father of lies; yet the King of Glorie makes him often to confesse the trueth against his will, which hee hath often declared for very feare, as hee did in the desert by the mouth of the possessed, crying, that Iesus was the Saviour come to destroy him, as he did by the *Pythouisse*, who saide that *Paul* preached the true God, as when he appeared and troubled *Pilates* wife, whom he made to mediate for Iesus a iust man. And as many other histories besides the holy Scripture gave diverse testimonies of idols, in approbation of christian religion, whereof *Lactantius*, *Prosperus*, and others make mention. Let them reade *Eusebius* in his bookes of the preparation of the Gospel; and those of his demonstrations where he doth amply treat of this matter. I have purposely spoken this, that no man should contemne what is written in the Histories and Annales of the *Indies*, touching Prefages and strange signes, of the approaching end and ruine of their kingdome, and of the Diuelles tyranny, whom they worshipped altogether. Which in my opinion is worthy of credite and beliefe, both for that it chanced late, and the memory is yet fresh, as also for
that

Mat. I.
Luke. 4.

Act. 26.

that it is likely, that the Divell lamented at so great a change, and that God by the same meanes beganne to chastice their cruell and abhominable idolatries. I will therefore set them downe heere as true things. It chanced that *Motēcuma* having raigned many yeers in great prosperity, and so puffed vp in his conceit, as hee caused himselfe to be served and feared, yea to be worshipped as a god, that the Almighty Lord beganne to chastice him, and also to admonish him, suffering even the very Divelles whome he worshipped, to tell him these heavy tidings of the ruine of his kingdome, and to torment him by visions, which had never bin seen, where-with hee remained so melancholy and troubled, as hee was voyde of iudgement. The idoll of those of *Chalola*, which they called *Quetzacoalt*, declared, that a strange people came to possesse his kingdomes. The king of *Tescuco* (who was a great Magitian, and had conference with the Divell) came one day at an extraordinarie houre to visite *Motēcuma*, assuring him that his gods had tolde him, that there were great losses preparing for him, and for his whole realme: many witches and forcerers went and declared as much, amongst which there was one did very particularly foretell him what should happen: and as he was with him hee tolde him that the pulses of his feete and hands failed him. *Motēcuma* troubled with these news, commanded all those forcerers to be apprehended: but they vanished presently in the prison, wherewith hee grewe into such a rage, that hee might not kill them, as hee putte their wives and children to death, destroying their houses, and families. Seeing himselfe importuned and troubled with these advertisements, he sought to appease the anger of his gods: and for that cause hee laboured

to bring a huge stone, thereon to make great sacrifices: For the effecting whereof hee sent a great number of people with engins and instruments to bring it: which they could by no meanes moove, although (being obstinate) they had broken many instruments. But as they strove still to raise it, they heard a voyce ioyning to the stone, which said they laboured in vaine, and that they should not raise it, for that the Lorde of things created would no more suffer those things to be doone there. *Moteczuma* vnderstanding this, commaunded the sacrifice to be perfourmed in that place, and they say the voyce spake againe: *Have I not told you, that it is not the pleasure of the Lord of things created, that it should be done: and that you may well know that it is so, I will suffer my selfe to be transported a little, then after you shall not moove mee.* Which happened so indeede, for presently they carried it a small distance with great facility, then afterwards they could not moove it, till that after many prayers, it suffered it selfe to be transported to the entry of the city of *Mexico*, where sodainly it fel into the Lake, where seeking for it, they could not finde it, but it was afterwards found in the same place from whence they had remooved it, wherewith they remayned amazed and confounded. At the same time there appeared in the element a great flame of fire, very bright, in the forme of a Pyramide, which beganne to appeare at midnight, and went still mounting vntill the Sunne rising in the morning, where it stayed at the South, and then vanished away. It shewed it selfe in this sort the space of a whole yeare, and ever as it appeared the people cast foorth great cries as they were accustomed, beleieving it was a presage of great misfortune. It happened also that fire tooke the Temple, whenas no body was with-

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in it, nor neare vnto it, neither did there fall any lightning or thunder: wherevpon the guardes crying out, a number of people ran with water, but nothing could helpe, so as it was all consumed; and they say the fire seemed to come forth of peeces of timber, which kindled more by the water that was cast vpon it. There was a Comet scene in the day time, running from the west to the east, casting an infinite number of sparkles, and they say the forme was like to a long taile, having three heads.

The great lake betwixt *Mexico* and *Tescuco*, without any wind, earthquake, or any other apparant signe, beganne sodainely to swell; and the waves grewe in such sort, as all the buildings neare vnto it fell downe to the ground. They say at that time they heard many voices, as of a woman in paine, which sayde sometimes, *O my children, the time of your destruction is come*, and otherwhiles it sayde, *O my children, whither shall I carry you, that you perish not utterly?* There appeared likewise many monsters with two heads, which being carried before the king, sodainely vanished. There were two that exceeded all other monsters, being very strange; the one was, the fishers of the lake tooke a bird as bigge as a Crane, and of the same colour, but of a strange and vnseene form. They caried it to *Moteczuma*, who at that time was in the pallace of teares and mourning, which was all hanged with blacke, for as he had many palaces for his recreation, so had he also others for times of affliction, wherewith hee was then heavily charged and tormented, by reason of the threatnings his gods had given him by these sorrowfull advertisements. The fishers came about noone setting this bird before him, which had on the toppe of his head a thing bright and

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transparent, in forme of a looking glasse, wherein he did behold a warrelike nation comming from the east, armed, fighting, and killing. He called his Divines and Astronomers (whereof there was a great number) who having seene these things, and not able to yeelde any reason of what was demaunded of them, the bird vanished away, so as it was never more seene: wherevpon *Motēcuma* remained very heavy and sorrowfull. The other which happened, was a laborer, who had the report of a very honest man, came vnto him, telling him, that being the day before at his worke, a great Eagle flew towards him, and tooke him vppe in his talants, without hurting him, carying him into a certaine cave, where it left him; the Eagle pronouncing these words, *Most mightie Lorde, I have brought him whome thou hast commaunded me*: This Indian laborer looked about on every side, to whome hee spake, but hee sawe no man. Then he heard a voyce which sayde vnto him, *Dooft thou not knowe this man, whome thou seest lying vpon the ground*: and looking thereon, he perceived a man lie very heavy asleepe, with royall ensignes, floures in his hand, and a staffe of perfumes burning, as they are accustomed to vse in that countrey, whome the labourer beholding, knew it was the great king *Motēcuma*, and answered presently: *Great Lord, this resembles our King Motēcuma*. The voyce saide againe, *Thou saiest true, behold what he is, and how he lies asleepe, carelesse of the great miseries and afflictions prepared for him*. It is now time that hee pay the great number of offences hee hath doone to God, and that he receive the punishment of his tyrannies, and great pride, and yet thou seest how carelesse hee lies, blinde in his owne miseries, and without any feling. But to the end thou maiest the better see him, take the staffe of perfumes hee holdes

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holdes burning in his hand, and put it to his face, thou shalt then find him without feeling. The poore laborer durst not approach neere him, nor doe as he was commaunded, for the great feare they all hadde of this king. But the voyce saide, *Have no feare, for I am without comparison greater than this King, I can destroy him, and defend him, doe therefore what I commaund thee.* Wherevpon the laborer took the staffe of perfumes out of the kings hand, and put it burning to his nose, but he mooved not, nor shewed any feeling.

This done, the voice said vnto him, that seeing hee had found the king so sleepey, he should go awake him, and tell him what he had scene. Then the Eagle by the same commandement, tooke the man in his tallents, and set him in the same place where he found him, and for accomplishment of that which it had spoken, hee came to advertise him. They say, that *Moteçuma* looking on his face, found that he was burnt, the which he had not felt till then, wherewith he continued exceeding heavy and troubled. It may be, that what the laborer reported, had happened vnto him by imaginary vision: And it is not incredible, that God appointed by the meanes of a good Angell, or suffered by a bad, that this advertisement should be given to the labourer for the kings chastisement, although an infidell, seeing that we reade in the holy Scriptures, that infidells and sinners have had the like apparations and revelations, as *Nabucadonosor*, *Balaam*, and the *Pithonisse of Saul*. Dan. 2.
And if some of these apparations did not so expressly Nym. 22.
happen, yet without doubt, *Moteçuma* had many great 3. Reg. 28.
afflictions and discontentments, by reason of sundry
& diuers revelations which he had, that his kingdome
and law should soone end.

of

of the newes Motecuma received of the Spaniards arrivall in his Country, and of the Ambassage he sent them. CHAP. 24.

IN the fourteenth yeare of the raigne of *Motecuma*, which was in the yeare of our Lord 1517. There appeared in the North seas, shippes, and men landing, whereat the subiects of *Motecuma* wondred much, and desirous to learne, and to be better satisfied what they were, they went aboard in their canoes, carrying many refreshings of meats and stufes to make apparrell, vpon colour to sell them. The Spaniards received them into their shippes, and in exchange of their victualls and stufes, which were acceptable vnto them, they gave them chaines of false stones, red, blew, Greene, and yellow, which the *Indians* imagined to be precious stones. The Spaniards informing themselves who was their king, and of his great power, dismissed them, willing them to carry those stones vnto their lord, saying, that for that time they could not goe to him, but they would presently returne and visit him. Those of the coast went presently to *Mexico* with this message, carrying the representation of what they had seene, painted on a cloth, both of the shippes, men, and stones which they had given them. King *Motecuma* remained very pensive with this message, commanding them not to reveale it to any one. The day following, he assembled his counsell, and having shewed them the painted clothes, and the chaines, he consulted what was to be done: where it was resolved to set good watches vpon all the sea coastes, to give present advertisement to the king of what they should discover. The yeare following,

ing, which was in the beginning of the year 1518. they discovered a fleete at sea, in the which was the Marquise of *Valle Don Fernande Cortes*, with his companions, a newes which much troubled *Moteczuma*, and conferring with his counsell, they all said, that without doubt, their great and antient Lord *Queztzalcoalt* was come, who had saide, that he would returne from the East, whither he was gone. The Indians held opinion, that a great Prince had in times past left them, and promised to returne. Of the beginning and ground of which opinion shall be spoken in another place. They therefore sent five principall Ambassadors with rich presents, to congratulate his coming, saying, they knewe well that their great Lord *Queztzalcoalt* was come, and that his servant *Moteczuma* sent to visit him, for so hee accounted himselfe. The Spaniards vnderstood this message by the meanes of *Marina*, an Indian woman whom they brought with them, and vnderstood the Mexicane tongue. *Fernande Cortes* finding this a good occasion for his entry, comanded to deck his chamber richly, and being set in great state and pompe, he caused the Ambassadors to enter, who omitted no shewes of humilitie, but to worshippe him as their god.

• They delivered their charge, saying, that his servant *Moteczuma* sent to visit him, and that he held the country in his name as his lievetenant, that he knew well it was the *Topilcin* which had beene promised them many yeares since, who should returne againe vnto them. And therefore they brought him such garments as he was wont to weare, when hee did conuerse amongst them, beseeching him to accept willingly of them, offering him many presents of great value. *Cortes* recei-
ving

Rom. II.

ving the presents, answered, that he was the same they spake of, wherewith they were greatly satisfied, seeing themselves to be. courteously received and intreated by him (for in that, as wel as in other things, this valiant captaine deserved commendations) that if this course had beene continued, to win them by love, it seemed the best occasion was offered that might be devised, to draw this country to the Gospel by peace and love: but the sinnes of these cruel homicides and slaves of Satan, required punishment from heaven, as also those of many Spaniards, which were not in small number. Thus the high iudgements of God disposed of the health of this nation, having first cutte off the perished rootes: and as the Apostle saith, the wickednes and blindness of some, hath beene the salvation of others. To conclude, the day after this Ambassage, all the Captaines and Commanders of the flecte, came vnto the Admirall, where vnderstanding the matter, and that this realme of *Moteczuma* was mightie and rich; it seemed fit to gaine the reputation of brave and valiant men among this people, and that by this meanes, (although they were few,) they should bee feared and received into *Mexico*. To this end they discharged all their artillerie from their shippes, which being a thing the Indians had never heard, they were amazed, as if heaven had fallen vpon them. Then the Spaniards beganne to desie them to fight with them: but the Indians not daring to hazard themselves, they did beate them and intreate them ill; shewing their swordes, lances, pertuisans, and other armes, wherewith they did terrifie them much. The poore Indians were by reason hereof, so fearefull and amazed, as they changed their opinion, saying, that their Lord *Tepilcin* came not in this troupe.

But

But they were some gods, (their enemies) came to destroy them. Whenas the Ambassadors returned to Mexico, *Moteczuma* was in the house of audience; but before he would heare them, this miserable man commanded a great number of men to be sacrificed in his presence, and with their blood to sprinkle the Ambassadors, (supposing by this ceremony, (which they were accustomed to do in solemne Ambassages,) to receive a good answer. But vnderstanding the report and information of the maner of their shippes, men, and armes, he stood perplexed and confounded: then taking counsell thereof, he found no better meanes, then to labour to stoppe the entrie of these strangers, by coniurations and magicke Artes. They had accustomed often to vse this meanes, having great conference with the diuell, by whose helpe they sometimes obtained strange effects. They therefore assembled together all the Sorcerers, Magitians, and Inchanters, who being perswaded by *Moteczuma*, they tooke it in charge to force this people to returne vnto their country. For this consideration, they went to a certaine place which they thought fit for the invocation of their diuells, and practising their artes, (a thing worthy of consideration.) They wrought all they could; but seeing nothing could preuaile against the Christians, they went to the king, telling him that they were more then men, for that nothing might hurt them, notwithstanding, all their coniurations and inchantments. Then *Moteczuma* advised him of another pollicie, that faining to be very well contented with their comming, he commanded all his countries to serve these celestiall gods that were come into his land. The whole people was in great heavinesse and amazement, and often newes came that the Spaniards inquired for the King, of his maner of life,

life, of his house & meanes. He was exceedingly vexed herewith: some of the people & other Negromancers advised him to hide himselfe, offering to place him whereas no creature should ever finde him. This seemed base vnto him, and therefore he resolved to attend them, although it were dying. In the end he left his houses and royall pallaces to lodge in others, leaving them for these gods as he said.

Of the Spaniards entrie into Mexico. CHAP. 25.

I Pretend not to intreate of the acts and deedes of the Spaniards, who conquered *New Spaine*, nor the strange adventures which happened vnto them, nor of the courage and invincible valour of their Captaine *Don Fernando Cortes*: for that there are many histories and relations thereof, as those which *Fernando Cortes* himselfe, did write to the Emperour *Charles* the fift, although they be in a plaine stile, and farre from arrogancie, the which doe give a sufficient testimony of what did passe, wherein he was worthy of eternall mery, but onely to accomplish my intention: I am to relate what the Indians report of this action, the which hath not to this day beene written in our vulgar tong. *Moteczuma* therefore, having notice of this Captaines victories, that he advanced for his conquest, that hee was confederate and ioyned with them of *Tlascalla*, his capitall enemies, and that he had severely punished them of *Cholola* his friends; he studied how to deceive him, or else to try him in sending a principall man vnto him, attyred with the like ornaments and royall ensignes, the which shuld take vpon him to be *Moteczuma*, which fiction being discovered to the Marquise by them of *Tlascalla*, (who did accompany him,) he sent him backe, after a milde and gentle reprehension, in seeking

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seeking so to deceive him : wherevpon *Motēcuma* was so confounded, that for the feare thereof, he returned to his first imaginations and practises, to force the christians to retyre, by the invocation of coniurers and witches. And therefore he assembled a greater number then before, threatening them, that if they returned without effecting what he had given them in charge, not any one should escape, wherevnto they all promised to obey. And for this cause, all the divells officers went to the way of *Chalco*, by the which the Spaniards should passe, when mounting to the top of a hill, *Texcalipuca*, one of their principall gods, appeared vnto them, as comming from the Spaniards campe, in the habite of *Chalcas*, who had his pappe bound about eight folde with a cord of reedes, hee came like a man beside himselfe, out of his wits, and drunke with rage & furie. Being come to this troupe of witches and coniurers, he staied, and spake to them in great choller, *Why come you hether, what doth Motēcuma pretend to doe by your meanes? He hath advised himselfe too late: for it is now determined, that his Kingdome and honour shall be taken from him, with all that he possesseth, for punishment of the great tyrannies he hath committed against his subiects, having governed not like a Lord, but like a traitour and tyrant.* The inchanters and coniurers hearing these words, knew it was their idoll, and humbling themselves before him, they presently built him an altar of stone in the same place, covering it with flowers which they gathered thereaboutes, but he contrariwise, making no account of these things, beganne againe to chide them, saying, *What come you hether to do O yee traitours? Returne presently and behold Mexico, that you may vnderstand what shall become thereof.* And they say, that turning towards Mexico to behold it, they did see it flaming

ming on fire. Then the diuell vanished away, and they not daring to passe any farther, gave notice thereof to *Moteczuma*, whereat hee remained long without speaking, looking heavily on the ground; then he said, what shall we doe if god and our friends leave vs, and contrariwise, they helpe and fauour our enemies? I am now resolute, and we ought all to resolve in this point, that happen what may, we must not flie nor hide our selves, or shew any signe of cowardice. I onely pittie the aged and infants, who have neither feete nor hands to defend themselves. Having spoken this, he held his peace, being transported into an extasie. In the end, the Marquisse approaching to *Mexico*, *Moteczuma* resolved to make of necessitie a vertue, going three or foure leagues out of the cittie to receive him with a great maiesty, carried vpon the shoulders of foure Noblemen, vnder a rich canapie of gold and feathers: when they mette, *Moteczuma* disceded, and they saluted one another very curteously. *Don Fernando Cortes* said vnto him, that he should not care for any thing, and that he came not to take away his realme, nor to diminish his authoritie. *Moteczuma* lodged *Cortes* and his companions in his royall pallace, the which was very stately, and he himselfe lodged in other private houses. This night the souldiers for ioy discharged their artillery, wherewith the Indians were much troubled, being vnaccustomed to heare such musicke. The day following, *Cortes* caused *Moteczuma* and all the Nobles of his Court to assemble in a great hall, where being set in a high chaire, he said vnto them, that hee was servant to a great prince, who had sent them into these countries to doe good workes, and that having found them of *Tlascalla* to be his friendes, (who complained of wrongs and greevances done vnto them daily by them of *Mexico*,)

he

he would vnderstand which of them was in the blame, and reconcile them, that heereafter they might no more afflict and warre one against another: and in the meane time, he and his bretheren (which were the Spaniards,) would remaine still there without hurting them: but contrariwise, they would helpe them all they could. He laboured to make them all vnderstand this discourse, vsing his interpreteres & truchmen. The which being vnderstoode by the King and the other Mexicane Lords, they were wonderfully well satisfied, and shewed great signes of love to *Cortes* & his company. Many hold opinion, that if they had continued the course they began that day, they might easily have disposed of the king & his kingdome, and given them the law of Christ, without any great effusion of blood. But the iudgements of God are great, and the sins of both parties were infinite: so as not having followed this course, the busines was deferred: yet in the end, God shewed mercy to this nation, imparting vnto them the light of his holy Gospel, after he had shewed his iudgement, and punished them that had deserved it, and odiously offended his diuine reverence. So it is, that by some occasions, many complaints, griefs, and ieałosies grew on either side. The which *Cortes* finding, & that the Indians mindes began to be distracted from them, he thought it necessary to assure himself, in laying hand vpon king *Moteczuma*, who was seized on, and his legs fettered. Truly this act was strange vnto all men, & like vnto that other of his, to have burnt his ships, and shut himselfe in the midst of his enemies, there to vanquish or to die. The mischief was, that by reason of the v unexpected arrival of *Pamphilo Naruaes* at the true crosse, drawing the country into mutiny, *Cortes* was forced to

absent himselfe from *Mexico*, & to leave poore *Motēcuma* in the hands of his companions, who wanted discretion nor had not moderation like vnto him: so as they grew to that discention, as there was no meanes to pacifie it.

Of the death of Motēcuma, and the Spaniards departure out of Mexico. CHAP. 26.

WHENAS *Cortes* was absent from *Mexico*, he that remained his lievetenant, resolved to punish the Mexicans severely, causing a great number of the nobilitie to be slaine at a maske which they made in the palace, the which did so far exceede, as all the people mutined, & in a furious rage, tooke armes to be revenged and to kil the Spaniards. They therefore besieged them in the pallace, pressing them so neere, that all the hurt the Spaniards could do them with their artillery and crosse-bowes, might not terrifie them, nor force them to retyre from their enterprise, where they continued many daies, stopping their victualls, nor suffering any one to enter or issue forth. They did fight with stones, and cast dartes after their maner, with a kinde of lances like vnto arrowes, in the which there are foure or six very sharpe rasors, the which are such, (as the histories report,) that in these warres, an Indian with one blow of these rasors, almost cut off the necke of a horse, & as they did one day fight with this resolution & furie, the Spaniards to make them cease, shewed forth *Motēcuma*, with another of the chiefe Lords of *Mexico*, vpon the top of a platform of the house, covered with the targets of two souldiers that were with them. The *Mexicanes* seeing their Lord *Motēcuma*, staied with great silence.

Then

Then *Motēcuma* caused the Lord to advise them to pacifie themselves, and not to warre against the Spaniards, seeing that (hee being a prisoner,) it could little profite him. The which being vnderstood by a yong man called *Quicuxtemoc*, whom they now resolved to make their king, spake with a loude voice to *Motēcuma*, willing him to rétyre like a villaine, that seeing he had bin such a coward, as to suffer himselfe to be taken, they were no more bound to obey him, but rather should punish him as he deserued, calling him woman for the more reproach, and then hee beganne to draw his bowe and to shoote at him, and the people beganne to cast stones at him, & to continue their combate. Many say that *Motēcuma* was then hurt with a stone wherof he died. The *Indians of Mexico* affirme the contrarie, & that he died as I will shew hereafter. *Alvaro* & the rest of the Spaniards seeing themselves thus pressed, gave intelligence to Captaine *Cortes*, of the great danger they were in: who having with an admirable dexteritie & valour, given order to *Narvaés* affaires, and assembled the greatest part of his men, he returned with all speede to succour them of *Mexico*, where observing the time the Indians rest, (for it was their custome in war, to rest every fourth day:) He one day advanced with great policy & courage, so as both he and his men entred the pallace, whereas the Spaniards had tortesied themselves: they then shewed great signes of ioy, in discharging their artillery. But as the Mexicans furie increased, (being out of hope to defend themselves,) *Cortes* resolved to passe away secretly in the night without bruite. Having therefore made bridges to passe two great and dangerous passages, about mid-night they issued forth as secretly as they could, the greatest part of his people having passed the first bridge, they were discovered by an Indian woman before they could passe.

The second who cried out their enemies fled, at the which voice all the people ran together with a horrible furie: so as in passing, the second bridge, they were so charged and pursued, as there remained above three hundred men slaine & hurt in one place; where at this day there is a smal hermitage, which they vnproperly cal of Martyrs. Many Spaniards (to preserve the gold & iewells which they had gotten,) perished, & others staying to carry it away, were taken by the Mexicans, & cruelly sacrificed to their idols. The Mexicans found king *Motēcuma* dead, & wounded as they say with poiniards, and they hold opinion that that night the Spaniards slew him with other Noblemen. The Marquise in his relation sent to the Emperour, writes the contrary, & that the Mexicans killed him that night with a son of *Motēcuma*, which he led with him amongst other noblemen, saying, that all the treasure of gold, stones, and silver, fell into the lake & was never more seene. But howsoever, *Motēcuma* died miserably, & paid his deserts to the iust iudgement of our Lord of heaven for his pride & tyranny: his body falling into the *Indians* power, they would make him no obsequies of a king, no not of an ordinarie person, but cast it away in great disdain & rage. A servant of his having pittie of this Kings miserie, (who before had bene feared and worshipped as a God) made a fier thereof, and put the ashes in a contemptible place. Returning to the Spaniards that escaped, they were greatly tyred and turmoiled, the *Indians* following them two or three daies very resolutely, giving them no time of rest, being so distressed for victualls, as a few graines of Mays were divided amongst them for their meate. The relations both of the Spaniards & *Indians* agree, that God delivered them here miraculously, the Virgin Mary defending them on a little hill, whereat this day three leagues from *Mexico*, there is a
Church

Church built in remembrance thereof, called our Lady of succour. They retyred to their anient friends of *Tlascalla*, whence (by their aide, & the valour & pollicie of *Cortes*,) they returned afterwards to make war against *Mexico*, by water and land, with an invention of brigantines, which they put into the lake, where after many combates, and above threescore dangerous battailes, they conquered *Mexico*, on *S. Hippolitus* day, the 13. of August, 1521. The last king of the Mexicans, (having obstinately maintained the wars,) was in the end taken in a great canoe, whereinto he fled, who being brought with some other of the chiefeft noblemen before *Fernando Cortes*, this pettie king with a strange resolution and courage, drawing his dagger, came neere to *Cortes*, and said vnto him, *Yntill this day I have done my best indeavour for the defence of my people: now am I no farther bound, but to give thee this dagger to kill me therewith.* *Cortes* answered, that he would not kill him, neither was it his intention to hurt them: but their obstinate folly was guiltie of all the misery & afflictions they had suffered, neither were they ignorant how often he had required peace and amity at their hands. He then commanded them to be intrated curteously. Many strange & admirable things chanced in this conquest of *Mexico*: for I neither hold it for an vntruth, nor an addition, which many write, that God favoured the Spaniards by many miracles: for else it had bin impossible to surmount so many difficulties, without the favour of heaven, and to subiect this nation with so few men. For although we were sinners, & vnworthy so great a favour, yet the cause of our God, the glorie of our faith, the good of so many thousands soules, as were in these countries, whome the Lord had predestinate, wrought this change which wee now see, by supernaturall meanes, and proper to himselfe which calles the blinde and

prisoners, to the knowledge of himselfe, giving them light and libertie by his holy Gospel. And to the end you may the better vnderstand this, and give credite therevnto, I will alseidge some examples which in my opinion are fit for this history.

*Of some miracles which God hath shewed at the Indies,
in favour of the faith, beyond the desert of those
that wrought them.* CHAP. 27.

Saint Croix of the mountaine, is a very great province, and farre from the Kingdome of Peru, neighbour to diverse infidell nations, which have not yet any knowledge of the Gospel, if since my departure, the fathers of our company which remane there, have not instructed them. Yet this province of S. Croix is christned, and there are many Spaniards, and great numbers of Indians baptized. The maner how Christianitie entred, was thus. A souldier of a lewd life, resident in the province of Charcas, fearing punishment, being pursued for his offences, went farre vp into the countrie, and was received courteously by this barbarous people. The Spaniard seeing them in a great extremity for water, and that to procure raine, they vsed many superstitious ceremonies, according to their vsuall maner, he said vnto them, that if they would do as he said, they should presently have raine, the which they willingly offered to performe. Then the souldier made a great crosse, the which he planted on a high and eminent place, commanding them to worship it, and to demand water, the which they did. A wonderful thing to see; there presently fel such abundance of raine, as the Indians tooke so great devotion to the holy crosse, as they fled vn-

to

to it in all their necessities, and obtained all they demanded: so as they brake downe their idolls, and beganne to carry the crosse for their badge, demanding preachers to instruct, and to baptise them. For this reason, the province to this day hath beene called *S. Croix de la Sierre*. But to the end we may see by whom God wrought these miracles, it shall not be vnfit to shew how that this souldier after he had some yeares done these miracles, like an Apostle, and yet nothing reformed in his lewd course of life, left the province of *Charcas*, and continuing in his wicked courses, was publicly hanged at *Potozi*. *Polo* (who knew him wel) writes all this, as a notable thing happened in his time. *Cabeça de Vaca*, who since was governour of *Paraguay*, writes what happened vnto him in his strange peregrination in *Florida*, with two or three other companions, the onely remainder of an army, where they continued ten yeares with these Barbarians, traveling and searching even vnto the South sea, being an author worthy of credite: he saith, that these Barbarians did force them to cure certaine diseases, threatning them with death if they did it not; they being ignorant in any part of phisicke, and having nothing to apply, forced by necessity, made euangelicall medicines, saying the praiers of the Church, and making the signe of the crosse, by meanes whereof, they cured these diseases, which made them so famous, as they were forced to exercise this office in all townes as they passed, the which were innumerable, wherein our Lord did aide them miraculously, and they themselves were thereat amazed, being but of an ordinarie life; yea, one of them was a Negro. *Lascero* was a souldier of *Peru*, of whom they knew no other merit, but to be a souldier: he spake certaine good wordes vpon wounds, and making the signe of the crosse, did presently cure them: so as they

did say, (as in a proverbe,) the psalme of *Lancero*. Being examined by such as held authority in the Church, his office & works were approved. Some men worthy of credite report, (and I have heard it spoken,) that in the cittie of *Cusco*, whenas the Spaniards were besieged and so straightly pressed, that without helpe from heaven, it was impossible to escape, the Indians casting fire on the tops of the houses, whether the Spaniards were retyred, (in which place the great Church is now built,) & although the covering were of a kind of straw, which they call *Chicho*, and that the fire they cast, was of the wood of fat & slimy fire-trees, yet nothing was set on fire, nor burnt, for that there was a woman did quench it presently, the which the Indians did visibly see, as they confessed afterwards being much amazed. It is most certaine by the relations of many, and by the histories which are written, that in divers battailes which the Spaniards had, as well in New *Spaine*, as in *Peru*, the Indians their enemies did see a horse-man in the aire, mounted on a whit horse, with a sword in his hand, fighting for the Spaniards, whence comes the great reverence they beare at the *Indies* to the glorious Apostle Saint *James*. Other whiles they did see in some battailes, the image of our Ladie, from whom the Christians have received in those partes incomparable favours and benefites: if I should particularly relate all the workes of heaven, as they happened, it would make a very long discourse. It sufficeth to have said this, by reason of the favour which the Queene of glorie did to our men, when they were pressed and pursued by the Mexicans, the which I have set downe, to the end we may know how our Lord hath had a care to favour the faith and Christian religion, defending those that maintained it, although happily by their workes they deserved not so great favours and benefites

nesses from heaven. And therefore we ought not to condemn all these things of the first Conquerours of the *Indies*, as some religious and learned men have done, doubtlesse with a good zeale, but too much affected: For although for the most part they were covetous men, cruell, and very ignorant in the course that was to be observed with the Infidels, who had never offended the Christians, yet can we not deny, but on their part there was much malice against God and our men, which forced them to vse rigor and chastisement. And moreover, the Lord of all (although the faithfull were sinners,) would favour their cause and partie, even for the good of the Infidells, who should bee converted vnto the holy Gospel by this meanes, for the waies of God are high, and their paths admirable.

*Of the manner how the Divine providence disposed
of the Indies, to give an entrie to Christian Religion.* CHAP. 28.

I Will make an end of this historie of the *Indies*, shewing the admirable meanes whereby God made a passage for the Gospel in those partes, the which we ought well to consider of, and acknowledge the providence and bountie of the Creator. Every one may vnderstand by the relation and discourse I have written in these bookes, as well at *Peru*, as in New *Spaine*, whenas the Christians first set footing, that these Kingdomes and Monarchies were come to the height and period of their power. The *Inguas of Peru*, possessing from the Realme of *Chille* beyond *Quitto*, which are a thousand leagues, being most abundant in gold, silver, sumptuous services, and other things: as also in *Mexico*, *Motecuma* commaunded from
the

the North Ocean sea, vnto the South, being feared and worshiped not as a man, but rather as a god. Then was it, that the most high Lord had determined that that stone of *Daniel*, which dissolved the Realmes and Kingdoms of the world, should also dissolve those of this new world. And as the lawe of Christ came whenas the Romane Monarchie was at her greatnes: so did it happen at the West *Indies*, wherein we see the iust providence of our Lord: For being then in the world, I meane in *Europe* but one head and temporall Lord, as the holy Doctors do note, whereby the Gospel might more easily be imparted to so many people and nations. Even so hath it happened at the *Indies*, where having given the knowledge of Christ to the Monarkes of so many Kingdomes, it was a meanes that afterwards the knowledge of the gospell was imparted to all the people: yea, there is here in a speciall thinge to bee observed, that as the Lordes of *Cusco* and *Mexico* conquered new landes, so they brought in their owne language, for although there were (as at this day) great diuersitie of tongues yet the Courtlie speeche of *Cusco*, did and doth at this day runne above a thousand leagnes, and that of *Mexico* did not extend farre lesse, which hath not beene of small importance, but hath much profited in making the preaching easie, at such a time, when as the preachers had not the gift of many tongues, as in olde tymes. He that would knowe what a helpe it hath beene for the conversion of this people in these two greate Emphyres, and the greate difficultie they haue founde to reduce those Indians to Christ, which acknowledge no Soueraigne Lorde, let him goe to *Florida*, *Bresill*, the *Andes* and many other places, where they have not prevailed so much by their preaching in fiftie yeares, as they have done in *Peru* and newe Spaine in lesse then five.

five. If they will impute the cause to the riches of the
 countrie: I will not altogether denie it. Yet were it impos-
 sible to have so great wealth, and to bee able to preserve it
 if there had not beene a Monarchie. This is also a worke
 of God in this age, when as the Preachers of the gospell
 are so colde and without zeale, and Merchants with
 the heat of covetousnes and desire of commaund, search
 and discover newe people whether wee passe with our
 commodities, for as Saint *Austin* saith, the Prophecie of
Esaie is fulfilled, in that the Church of Christ is extended,
 not onely to the right hand, but also to the left: which is,
 (as he declareth,) by humane and earthly meanes, which
 they seeke more commonly then Iesus Christ. It was also
 a great providence of our Lord, that whenas the first Spa-
 niards arrived there, they founde ayde from the *Indians*
 them selves, by reason of their partialities and greate
 diuisions.

*August. lib. 2.
 de ciuitate. c.*
 36.

This is well knowne in *Peru*, that the diuision betwixt
 the two brothers *Atahulpa* and *Guasca*, the great King
Guanacapa their father being newly dead, gave entry to
 the Marquise *Don Francis Pizarre*, and to the Spaniards,
 for that either of them desired his alliance being busied in
 warre one against the other. The like experience hath
 beene in *New Spaine*, that the aide of those of the pro-
 vince of *Tlascalla*, by reason of their continuall hatred
 against the Mexicaines, gave the victory and siegniory
 of *Mexico*, to the Marquise *Fernando Cortes* and his men,
 and without them it had beene impossible to have wonne
 it, yea, to have maintained themselves within the coun-
 try.

They are much deceived that so little esteeme the In-
 dians, and iudge that (by the advantage the Spaniards
 have over them in their persons, horses, and armes, both
 offensive

offensive and deffensive,) they might easily conquer any land or nation of the *Indies*.

Chille standes yet, or to say better, *Aranco* and *Tucapel*, which are two citties, where our Spaniards could not yet winne one foote of ground, although they have niade warre there above five and twenty yeares, without sparing of any cost. For this barbarous nation, having once lost the apprehension of horse and shotte, and knowing that the Spaniards fall as well as other men; with the blow of a stone or of a dart, they hazard themselves desperately, entring the pikes vppon any enterprife. How many yeares have they levied men in New *Spaine*, to fend against the *Chychemequos*, which are a small number of naked Indians, armed onely with bowes and arrowes: yet to this day they could not bee vanquished, but contrariwise, from day to day they grow more desperate and resolute. But what shall wee say of the *Chucos*, of the *Chiraguanas*, of the *Piscocones*, and all the other people of the *Andes*? Hath not all the flower of *Peru* bene there, bringing with them so great provision of armes and men as we have seene? What did they? With what victories returned they? Surely they returned very happy in saving of their lives, having lost their baggage and almost all their horses. Let no man thinke (speaking of the Indians,) that they are men of nothing; but if they thinke so, let them go and make triall. Wee must then attribute the glory to whom it appertaines, that is, principally to God, and to his admirable disposition: for if *Moteczuma* in *Mexico*, and the *Ingua* in *Peru*, had bin resolute to resist the Spaniards, and to stoppe their entrie, *Cortes* and *Pizarre* had prevailed little in their landing, although they were excellent Captaines. It hath also bene a great helpe to induce the Indians to receive the law of Christ, the sub-

iecti-

iection they were in to their Kings and Lords , and also the servitude and slaverie they were helde in by the di-
vells tyrannies and insupportable yooke. This was an ex-
cellent disposition of the Divine Wisedome , the which
drawes profite from ill to a good end , and receives his
good from an others ill , which it hath not sown. It is
most certaine that no people of the West *Indies* have
beene more apt to receive the Gospel , then those which
were most subiect to their Lords , and which have beene
charged with the heaviest burthens , as well of tributes
and services , as of customes and bloodie practises . All
that which the Mexicane Kings and those of *Peru* did
possesse , is at this day most planted with Christian reli-
gion , and where there is least difficultie in the govern-
ment and ecclesiasticall discipline. The Indians were so
wearied with the heavy and insupportable yooke of Sa-
thans lawes , his sacrifices and ceremonies , whereof wee
have formerly spoken , that they consulted among them-
selves , to seeke out a new law , and another God to serve.
And therefore the law of Christ seemed vnto them , and
doth at this day seeme iust, sweete, cleane, good, and full
of happinesse.

And that which is difficult in our law , to beleieve so
high and soveraigne Misteries , hath beene easie among
them , for that the Divell had made them comprehend
things of greater difficultie , and the selfe-same things
which he had stolen from our Evangelicall law , as their
maner of communion and confession , their adoration
of three in one , and such other like , the which against the
will of the enemy , have holpen for the easie receiving of
the truth by those who before had imbraced lies. God is
wise and admirable in all his workes , vanquishing the
adversarie even with his owne weapon , hee takes him in
his

his owne snare, and kills him with his owne sword. Finally, our God (who had created this people, and who seemed to have thus long forgot them,) when the houre was come, hee would have the same divells, enemies to mankind, whom they falsly held for gods, should give a testimony against their will, of the true law, the power of Christ, and the triumph of the crosse, as it plainly appears by the presages, propheties, signes, and prodiges, heere before mentioned, with many others happened in divers partes, and that the same Ministers of Sathan, Sorcerers, Magitians, and other Indians have confessed it. And we cannot deny it, (being most evident and knowne to all the world,) that the Divell dareth not hisse, and that the practises, oracles, answers, and visible apparitions, which were so ordinary throughout all this infidelitie, have ceased, whereas the Crosse of Christ hath beene planted, where there are Churches, and where the name of Christ hath beene confessed. And if there be at this day any cursed minister of his, that doth participate thereof, it is in caves, and on the toppes of mountaines, and in secret places, farre from the name and communion of Christians. The Sovereigne Lord be blessed for his great mercies, and for the glory of his holy name: And in truth, if they did governe this people temporally and spiritually, in such sort as the law of Iesus Christ hath set it downe, with a milde yoke and light burthen, and that they would impose no more vpon them then they can well beare, as the letters pattents of the good Emperour of happy memorie doe command, and that they would employ halfe the care they have to make profite of these poore mens sweats and labours, for the health of their soules, it were the most peaceable and happy Christian part of all the world. But our sinnes are often an occasi-

on that God doth not impart his graces to abundantly as he would. Yet I will say one thing which I holde for truth, that although the first entry of the Gospel hath not beene accompanied (in many places,) with such sinceritie and christian meanes, as they should have vsed: yet God of his bountie hath drawne good from this evill, and hath made the subiection of the Indians, a perfect remedie for their salvation. Let vs consider a little, what hath beene newly converted in our time to the Christian Religion, as well in the East, as in the West, and how little suretie and perseverance in the faith and Christian Religion there hath beene, in places where the new converted have had full libertie to dispose of themselves, according to their free will. Christianitie without doubt augments and increaseth, and brings forth daily more fruite among the Indian slaves: and contrariwise decreaseth and threatens a ruine in other partes, where have beene more happy beginnings. And although the beginnings at the West *Indies* have beene laboursome, yet our Lord hath speedily sent good worke-men and his faithfull Ministers, holy men and Apostolicall, as Friar *Martin of Valence*, of the order of *S. Francis*, Friar *Dominicke de Gerancois*, of the order of *S. Dominicke*, Friar *Iohn de Roa*, of the order of *S. Austen*, with other servants of our Lord, which have lived holily, and have wrought more then humane things. Likewise, Prelates and holy Priests, worthy of memory, of whom we heare famous miracles, and the very acts of the Apostles: yea, in our time we have knowne and conferred with some of this qualitie.

But for that my intention hath beene onely to touch that which concernes the proper history of the Indians themselves, and to come vnto the time that the father
of

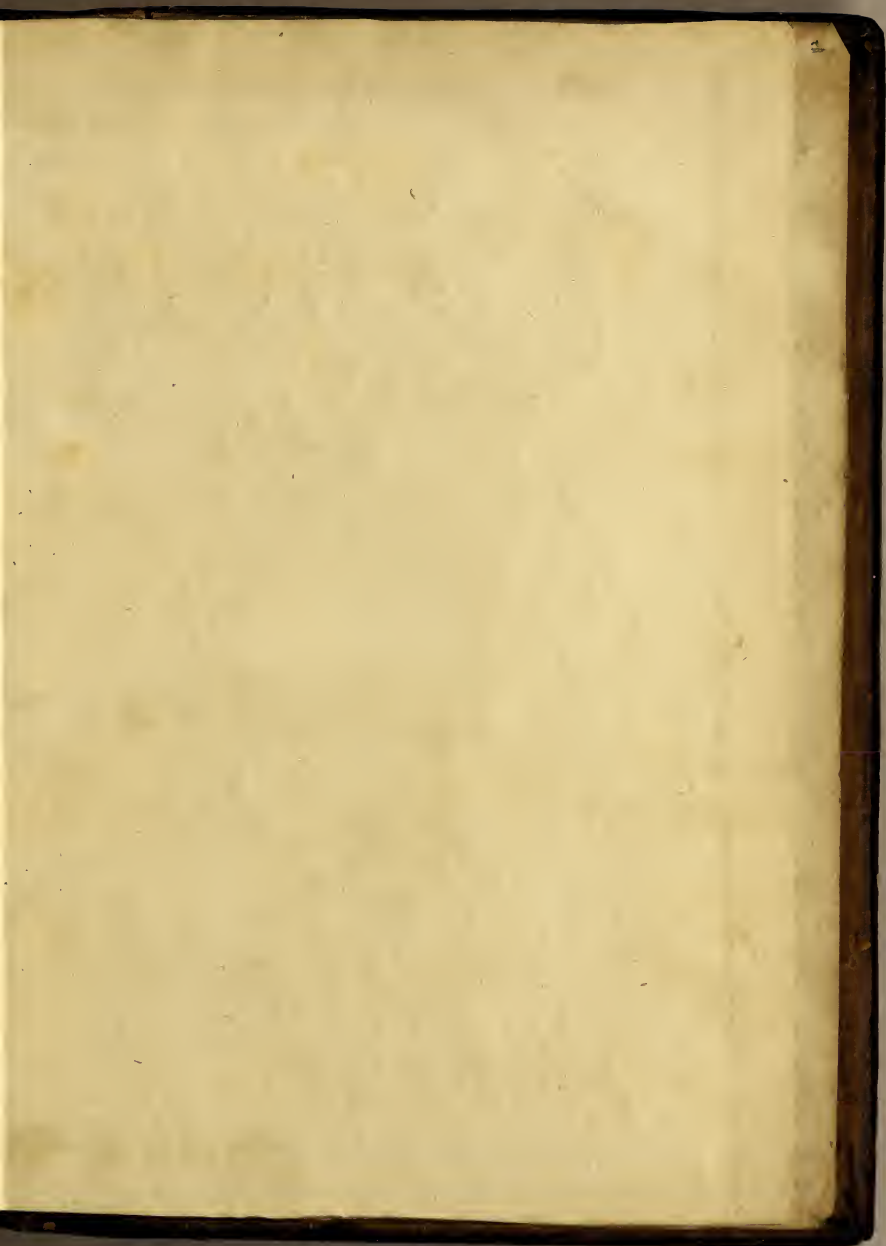
of our Lord Iesus Christ would communicate the light of his word vnto them. I will passe no farther, leaving the discourse of the Gospel at the west *Indies* for another time, and to a better vnderstanding: Beseeching the Sovereigne Lord of all, and intreating his servants, humbly to pray vnto his Divine Maiestie, that it would please him of his bountie, often to visit and to augment by the guifts of heaven this new Christendome, which these last ages have planted in the farthest boundes of the earth.

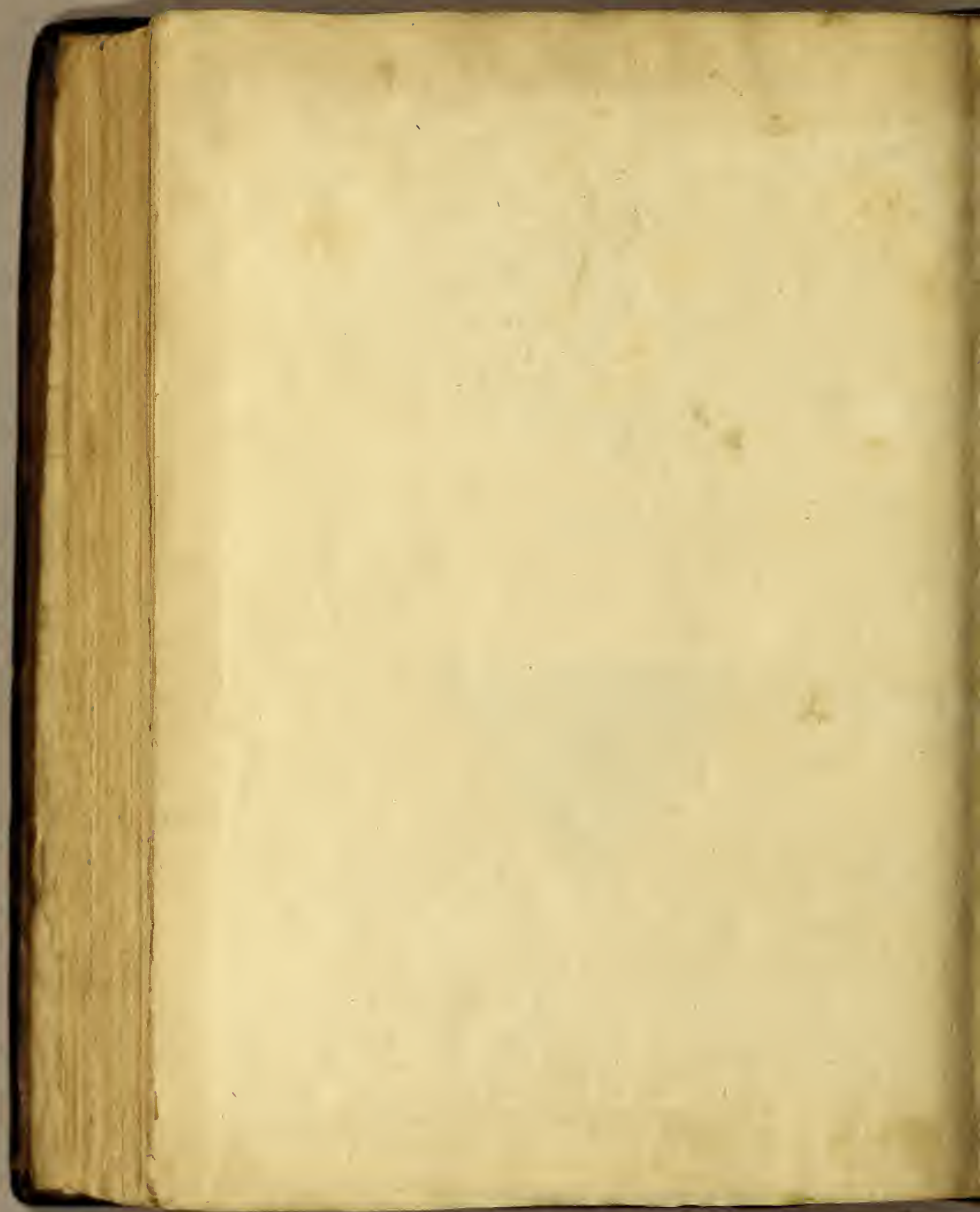
Glory, Honour, & Empery be to the King
of worlds for ever and ever.

Amen.

FINIS.







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A185+

